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This thesis analyzes the geography and history of public-private school choice, with particular concern to race, in a historically significant area where the first legal steps were taken to end segregation in public schools. The purpose is to identify how legacies of segregation have affected and continue to affect public-private school choice in area high schools today, examine which socioeconomic factors appear to most affect this choice, and determine the extent to which public schools in the study area reflect the racial demographic characteristics of their surrounding communities. To accomplish this, inquiry into the history of school segregation in the South, the emergence of private "segregation academies" during the era of integration, as well as contemporary trends in school choice are explored. Racial enrollment statistics from public and private schools are also compared to that of their attendance zones and surrounding areas.

This research found that legacies of segregation likely continue to influence public-private school choice today, and that race and income also appear to be the socioeconomic factors that most affect whether families in the study area choose public or private school for their high school-aged children. It was also found that a significant disparity exists in the study area when comparing the racial demographic composition of private schools, public schools, and their surrounding communities.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF PUBLIC-PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE AND RACE:

A CASE STUDY OF SUMTER, CLARENDON, AND LEE

COUNTIES, SOUTH CAROLINA

by

William Shane Canup

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Forced spatial segregation by race was a defining characteristic of society in the American South for centuries, from the era of slavery until the mid-19th century. This societal structure of racially-based segregation was imposed onto those born into it from the beginning of their lives, with white and black children born in separate sections of hospitals – if not separate hospitals altogether (Quadagno 2000). The division permeated through all facets of life, in some instances simply by inherited custom, while in other cases, segregation was required by law. Individuals from different races used separate restrooms, drank from separate water fountains, sat in separate sections of restaurants and theaters, attended separate schools (Weyeneth 2005, Edgar 1992), and were buried in separate cemeteries (Rabinowitz 1976). Buttressed by the Supreme Court's 1896 decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which found segregation constitutional as long as the facilities provided for both races were "separate but equal" (Kauper 1954), the system of segregation ensured that white and black Americans would have minimal and calculated interaction with one another from birth to death.

Brown v. Board of Education, the landmark 1954 Supreme Court case that declared school segregation unconstitutional, has come to be recognized as one of the most famous and influential in modern American history. *Brown* was instrumental in bringing the African-American Civil Rights Movement to the forefront of the American consciousness. Less famous, but arguably equally as important, is the case of *Briggs v. Elliott*, the culmination of legal action first undertaken in Clarendon County, South Carolina, in 1947.

Initially a lawsuit intended to provide a school bus for rural black schoolchildren, *Briggs* was the first of five school segregation-related lawsuits that would eventually be combined into *Brown* (Read 1975). The segregated public school system, one of segregation's most significant and prominent institutions, was toppled in the *Brown* decision – and its roots lie in a lawsuit for a school bus in tiny Summerton, South Carolina.

With nearly 60 years having passed since the *Brown* decision, one would assume that schools in rural South Carolina – and nationwide – have been integrated. Indeed, the laws requiring segregation of white and black students have long been struck down. However, many students across America currently attend schools that are overwhelmingly dominated by one race. Multiple studies have shown a general pattern of school "resegregation" in recent decades, and some schools are more racially segregated now than in the years following integration (Clotfelter 2004, Orfield 2001, Boger 2005, Tatum 2007, Kozol 1991). Resegregation and nearly racially-homogeneous schools are certainly not limited to the South, but are unquestionably present in Summerton and Clarendon County – part of the study area for this thesis, and one of the most historically significant sites in the fight to end segregation.

There are many underlying causes that have contributed to the phenomenon of resegregation and the presence of racially-homogeneous schools. The practice of busing to achieve racial integration, and its rise and fall in prevalence and necessity, has been a contributor to the resegregation of urban schools and districts nationwide. "White flight," the increase of white families migrating from center cities to suburban areas from the 1960s onward, has also contributed to residential segregation that affects the racial demographic composition of schools and districts (Clotfelter 2004). However, in rural Southern locales such as Clarendon County, an increase in the number of and enrollment in

private schools has contributed to resegregation. Many of these schools, dubbed "segregation academies" in the 1960s and 1970s, were established during the era of desegregation to provide an alternative to integrated public schools (Nevin and Bills 1976). It is common in some areas for white students to attend these "segregation academies," leaving the public schools predominantly black. These schools continue to preserve a degree of effective *de facto* segregation, not only in Clarendon County or in South Carolina, but in communities throughout the American South (Evans 2004).

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the geography of public-private school choice, from the 1950s to present, in Clarendon, Lee, and Sumter Counties in South Carolina. Inquiry into the history of forced spatial segregation in institutions such as schools will also be investigated. Utilizing a mixed methods approach, the social, demographic, and political factors that help to explain why parents choose public or private school for their children will be explored. Using census data, the racial demographic statistics of the school districts and attendance zones in each county will be compared to the current demographic composition of their respective high schools. The focus is to assign a geographical and historical perspective to the current issue of public-private school choice and its associated factors, such as race and income. Specifically, the following research questions are posed:

i. How have legacies of segregation continued to affect public-private school choice in Clarendon, Lee, and Sumter Counties today?
ii. Which demographic factors most affect public-private school choice in these areas today?
iii. To what degree do the demographic characteristics of public and private schools in the study area reflect that of their surrounding communities?

CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW OF STUDY AREA

Sumter, Clarendon, and Lee Counties are located in central South Carolina, along the corridors of Interstates 20 and 95. As of the 2010 U.S. Census, the three counties had a combined population of 161,647. The majority of the population is centered in Sumter County (population 107,456), with Clarendon (34,971) and Lee (19,220) counties being decidedly more rural and lightly populated. Sumter County is coterminous with the Sumter County, SC Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), while Clarendon nor Lee Counties are included in any Metropolitan or Micropolitan Statistical Area (μSA) due to their lack of an urban core area with a population of over 10,000.

The city of Sumter is the largest municipality in the study area by a large margin, with a population of 40,524 in 2010. Manning (Clarendon County; 4,108), Bishopville (Lee County; 3,471), and Summerton (Clarendon County; 1,000) are the only incorporated municipalities in the study area with a population exceeding 1,000. There are, however, a number of larger census-designated places (CDPs) in the study area, most notably: Dalzell (3,059), Lakewood (3,032), and Cherryvale (2,496), all located within Sumter County (U.S. Census 2010). Figure 2.2 shows population density by census tract in the study area. For a more detailed map of the area's census tracts, see Appendix A.

Figure 2.1. Location of Sumter, Clarendon, and Lee Counties in South Carolina

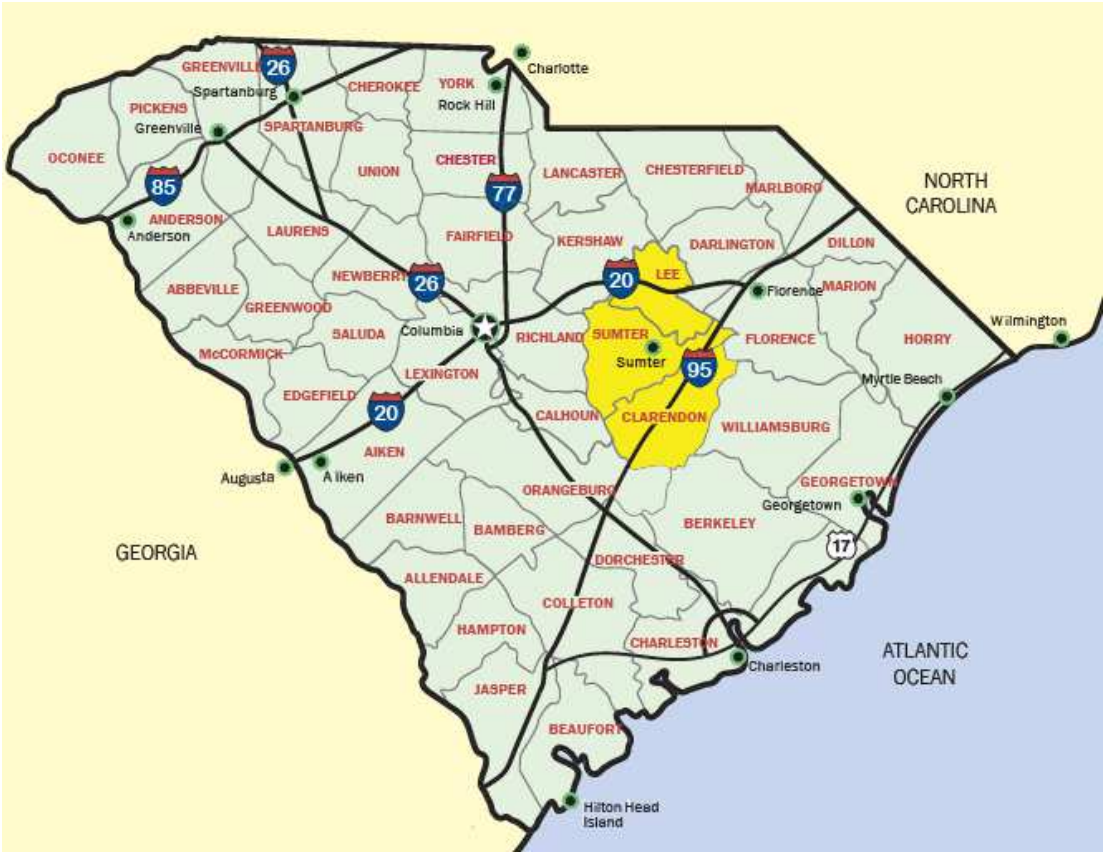
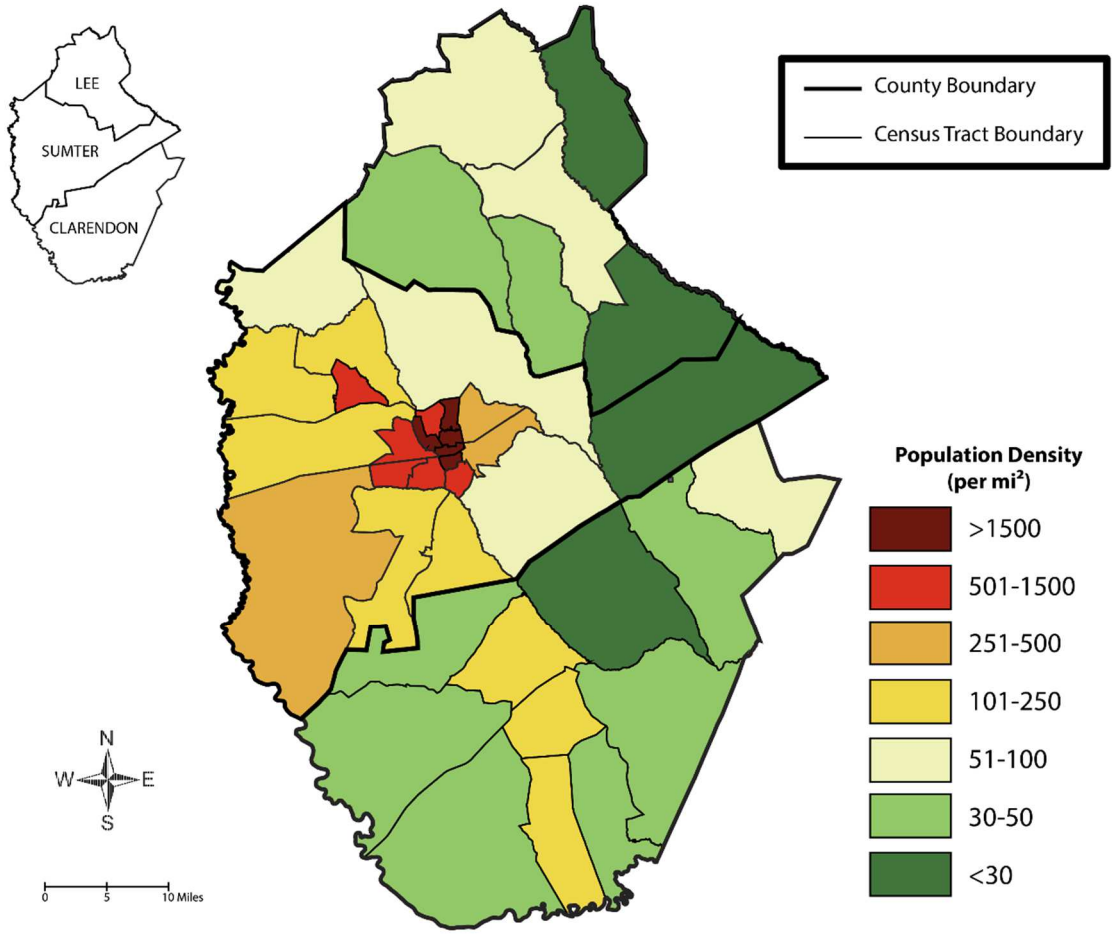


Figure 2.2. Population Density by Census Tract: Study Area, 2010



All three counties in the study area have experienced economic struggle, especially in recent decades. The American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates (2009-2013) indicated a Median Household Income (MHI) of $41,366 in Sumter County, $31,410 in Clarendon County, and $27,373 in Lee County – all lower than the MHI in both South Carolina ($44,779) and the United States ($47,793; U.S. Census Bureau 2015). Lagging behind the MHI of both South Carolina and the United States has been a trend for the study area throughout the 20th century, as shown in Table 2.1. Median household income by census tract in the study area is also shown in Figure 2.3.

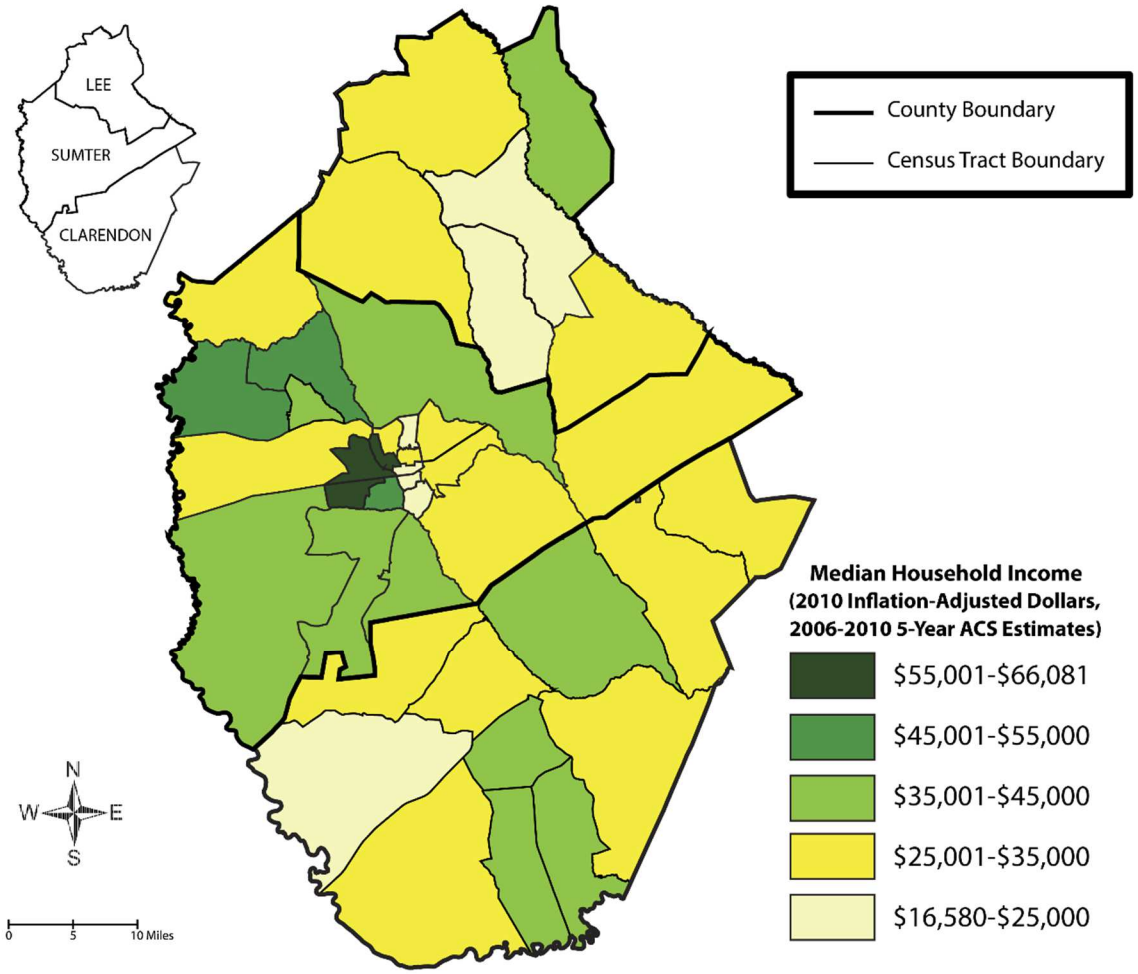
Table 2.1. Median Household Income (MHI), 1950-2010 (Inflation Unadjusted)

Year	Sumter County	Clarendon County	Lee County	South Carolina	United States
1950	$1,372	$943	$697	$1,647	$2,619
1960	$2,686	$1,817	$1,526	$3,125	$4,791
1970	$6,407	$4,458	$5,084	$6,835	$8,486
1980	$12,191	$11,108	$11,322	$14,711	$16,841
1990	$22,387	$17,645	$18,174	$28,735	$30,056
2000	$33,278	$27,131	$26,907	$37,570	$41,994
2010	*$41,366*	*$31,410*	*$27,373*	*$44,779*	*$47,793*

Sumter County, like many areas throughout the South, has been plagued by the decline of the textile industry since the 1970s. Likewise, the agriculturally-dominant economies of Clarendon and Lee Counties have seen a similar downturn. Since 1990, the annual unemployment rate in each county has ranged from 4.4% (1990) to 12.5% (2010) in Sumter County, 5.6% (1990) to 15% (2009) in Clarendon County, and 5.8% (1990) to 16.2% (2010-2011) in Lee County (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2015).

Sumter County's economic situation is stabilized by the presence of Shaw Air Force Base, which provides over 6,500 full-time jobs to the county. The remaining largest employers in Sumter County include Sumter School District (2,600 jobs), a poultry processing facility (2,210), and the county hospital (1,519), with a variety of other manufacturing and retail jobs (Sumter Economic Development 2015). The economies of Clarendon and Lee Counties are likewise dominated by retail, education, services, and manufacturing (Central SC Alliance 2015).

Figure 2.3. Median Household Income by Census Tract: Study Area, 2010



Sumter County has experienced steady population growth since the mid-20th century, while Clarendon and Lee counties have mostly seen stagnation and/or population decline. Table 2.2 shows historical U.S. Census population data for the three counties in the study.

Table 2.2. Population of Study Area Counties, 1950-2010

Year	Sumter County	Clarendon County	Lee County
1950	57,634	32,215	23,173
1960	74,941	29,490	21,832
1970	79,425	25,604	18,323
1980	88,243	27,464	18,929
1990	102,637	28,450	18,437
2000	104,646	32,502	20,119
2010	107,456	34,971	19,220

Each county in the study area has a significant African-American population. Clarendon (50.1% black, 47% white) and Lee (64.3% black, 33.4% white) counties were two of twelve South Carolina counties to have a majority black population in 2010, with Sumter County (48.2% white, 46.9% black) narrowly missing majority-minority status (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). The percentage of black population of the study area by census tract is shown in Figure 2.4.

As in many areas throughout the South, this high concentration of African-Americans has historically been present due to the region's agricultural and formerly-slaveholding heritage. In 1860, slaves comprised 70.9% of Sumter County's and 66% of Clarendon County's total population (Lee County was not formed until 1902); and the total population of South Carolina was majority black as recently as 1920 (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration 2015, U.S. Census Bureau 2015).

Since 1950, however, the racial demographic composition of the three study area counties has undergone significant change. Sumter County nearly doubled in population from 1950 to 2010, yet still maintains a near-equal racial balance that has changed only slightly since 1960. Sumter County has experienced an influx of residents from many races

since 1950, though the white population has recently declined a total of 7.1% since 1990. Tables 2.3 and 2.4 show the change in population by race in the three study area counties.

Figure 2.4. Percent Black Population by Census Tract: Study Area, 2010

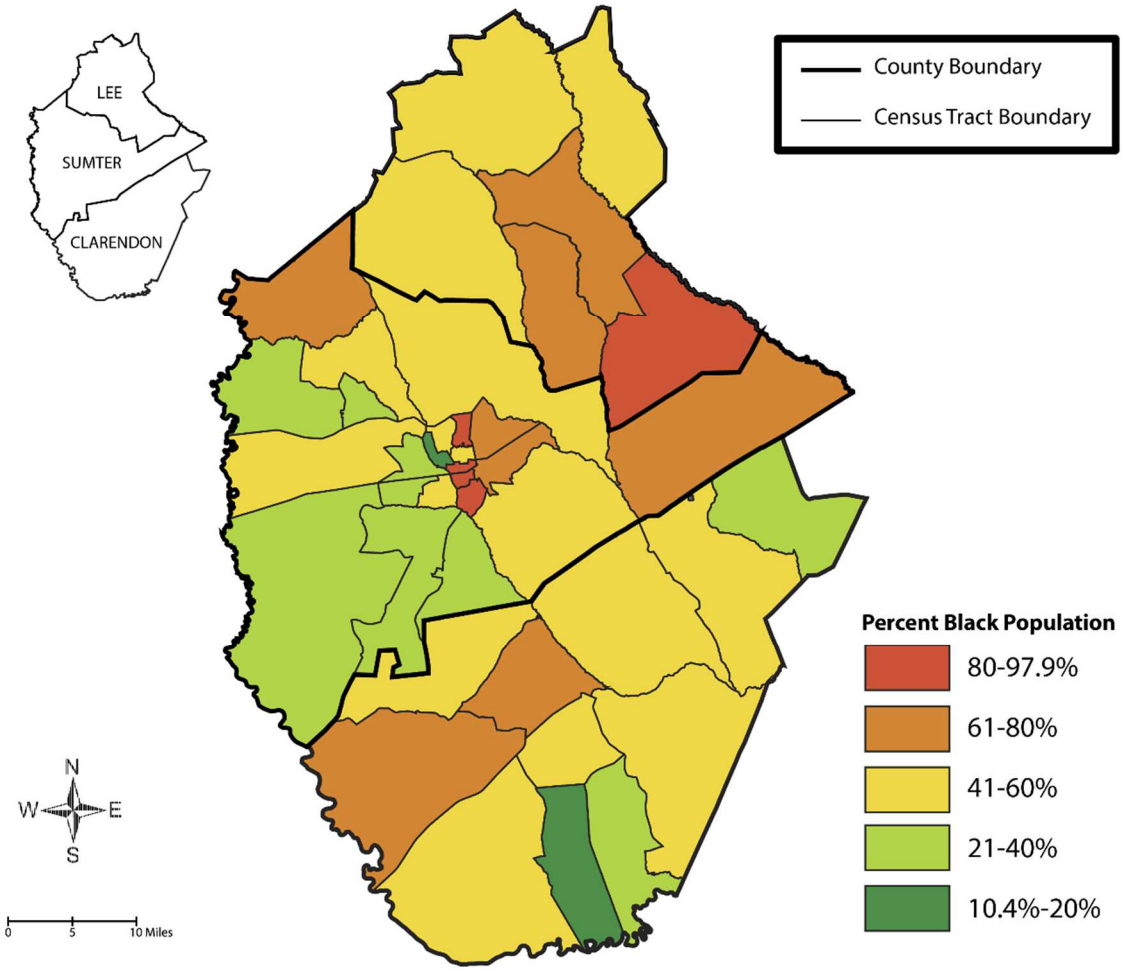


Table 2.3. Population of Study Area Counties by Race, 1950-2010

Year	Sumter County				Clarendon County				Lee County			
	White	*+/-*	*Black*	*+/-*	*White*	*+/-*	*Black*	*+/-*	*White*	*+/-*	*Black*	*+/-*
1950	24,609	-	33,004	-	9,379	-	22,833	-	7,664	-	15,498	-
1960	39,846	15,237	34,997	1,993	9,360	-19	20,122	-2,711	7,459	-205	14,366	-1,132
1970	45,814	5,968	33,086	-1,911	9,711	351	15,870	-4,252	7,356	-103	10,964	-3,402
1980	48,423	2,609	38,966	5,880	11,610	1,899	15,778	-92	7,325	-31	11,586	622
1990	56,779	8,356	44,340	5,374	12,267	657	16,078	300	6,850	-475	11,516	-70
2000	52,462	-4,317	48,850	4,510	14,602	2,335	17,273	1,195	7,048	198	12,787	1,271
2010	51,825	-637	50,414	1,564	16,445	1,843	17,504	231	6,419	-629	12,359	-428

Table 2.4. Population of Study Area Counties by Race (Percentage), 1950-2010

Year	Sumter County				Clarendon County				Lee County			
	White	*+/-%*	*Black*	*+/-%*	*White*	*+/-%*	*Black*	*+/-%*	*White*	*+/-%*	*Black*	*+/-%*
1950	42.7%	-	57.3%	-	29.1%	-	70.9%	-	33.1%	-	66.9%	-
1960	53.2%	10.5%	46.7%	-10.6%	31.7%	2.6%	68.2%	-2.6%	34.2%	1.1%	65.8%	-1.1%
1970	57.7%	4.5%	41.7%	-5.0%	37.9%	6.2%	62.0%	-6.3%	40.1%	6.0%	59.8%	-6.0%
1980	54.9%	-2.8%	44.2%	2.5%	42.3%	4.3%	57.4%	-4.5%	38.7%	-1.4%	61.2%	1.4%
1990	55.3%	0.4%	43.2%	-1.0%	43.1%	0.8%	56.5%	-0.9%	37.2%	-1.5%	62.5%	1.3%
2000	50.1%	-5.2%	46.7%	3.5%	44.9%	1.8%	53.1%	-3.4%	35.0%	-2.1%	63.6%	1.1%
2010	48.2%	-1.9%	46.9%	0.2%	47.0%	2.1%	50.1%	-3.1%	33.4%	-1.6%	64.3%	0.7%

Clarendon County saw a slight (8.5%) increase in total population from 1950 to 2010, but the county has transitioned from a 70.9% black majority in 1950 to only 50.1% black in 2010. This is the result of the black population shrinking significantly (-23.3%), while the white population has increased 57% over the same period.

Conversely, Lee County has seen a net decrease (17%) in population from 1950 to 2010, but the demographic composition of the county remains nearly the same as in 1950. Overall, Lee County is experiencing an emigration of both black and white residents.

The change in the racial demographic composition of the study area is, overall, indicative of larger migration trends within the United States during the 20th century. The Second Great Migration, "white flight," the New Great Migration, and the increasing urbanization of population during the 20th century, all provide evidence to help explain this transformation.

As evidenced in Tables 2.3 and 2.4, Clarendon and Lee counties experienced a loss of nearly one-third of their preexisting black population from 1950-1970. As both counties are distinctly rural, this population loss can be largely explained by the Second Great Migration – the migration of African-Americans from the rural South to urban areas in the North, West, and Midwest, from the World War II era through the 1970s. In the ensuing decades, Clarendon County's large influx of white residents (with a comparatively small increase in black residents) can likely be attributed to both "white flight" from urban cores since the 1950s, migration south from Rust Belt cities, as well as the New Great Migration of African-Americans back to the South.

As the urban core of the region, Sumter County's demographic transition is better explained by the overall trend of urbanization in the United States. The effect of the New Great Migration, which has seen more African-Americans migrate to urban cores in the

South rather than rural areas, is also evident. The presence of Shaw Air Force Base has also contributed to population growth in Sumter County.

The study area is reflective of many small cities and towns in the South, with certain quintessential small Southern city characteristics. The area has undergone economic struggle in recent decades with the departure of former core industries such as textiles and manufacturing. The decline in profitability of agriculture has also affected the area, but the area is still agriculturally-dominant. The area has a significant African-American population, like most of the South. In these ways, Sumter and its surrounding areas can easily be viewed as an average small Southern city.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Geography of Education

Education is continually regarded as one of the most important investments an individual can make in themselves, as well as one of the most valuable investments a country can make in its people. Since antiquity, education and the attainment of knowledge has been prized and treasured by societies across the globe. In the United Nations' Human Development Index (HDI), one of the primary statistics used to measure a country's overall quality of life, an educated and literate population is considered as important as life expectancy and income, the other two measures that comprise the index (Anand and Sen 1994).

As such, one of the foremost expenses and chief concerns of governments worldwide is in the area of education. Explorations by T.W. Schultz into the field of "human capital" proposed that the skills and knowledge an individual acquires are a form of capital, and that human capital is one of the primary determinants of economic success (Schultz 1961). Gary Becker further theorized that the investments in education and training yielded positive societal and economic results, analogous to economic investment. As a person cannot be separated from "his or her knowledge, skills, health or values the way it is possible to move financial and physical assets while the owner stays put" (Becker 2009), it is evident that most governments and societies view education as an economic benefit that can advance societies by countless forms of progress – societal, economic, medical, technological, and governmental – among many others.

Despite this importance, the focus of geographers has historically been on geography *in* education and not the geography *of* education. Geography has a reputation as a synthesizing discipline that lends itself to incorporating well with a variety of other fields, but the field of education geography is comparatively underdeveloped. Hones and Ryba (1972) inquired into the reasons behind this, pointing out that studies in the geography of education were often done by non-geographers and suggesting several avenues in which further inquiry into the geography of education could prove beneficial. Ryba (1979) continued to investigate the geography of education, specifically the differing levels of educational achievement in various inter-and-intranational areas, concluding that the significant differences in educational achievement within nations "certainly implies the need for territorial variety in input and process" to adapt to "regional or local needs and aspirations."

The plea made by Hones and Ryba for more attention directed toward the geography of education was answered, and while the field of education geography is still developing, interest seems to be growing. More recently, Thiem (2009) reevaluated the growth of the education geography subfield, including highlighting a multitude of research that had been published, including on the subjects of school choice (Andre-Bechely 2007, Butler and van Zanten 2007, Butler et al. 2007, Taylor and Gorard 2001), racial and ethnic segregation (Herbert and Thomas 1998, Harris and Mercier 2000, Butler and Hamnett 2007, Webber and Butler 2007), and student migration (Waters 2006, 2007, King and Ruiz-Gelices 2003, Findlay et al. 2006, Holloway et al. 2010). The application of the "Tiebout Hypothesis" or "Tiebout Sorting," that residents congregate homogeneously by choosing public goods (such as schools) that best suit their preferences, has also been made to the

education geography subfield, specifically in the areas of public-private school choice (Tiebout 1956, Godwin and Kemerer 2002, Lankford and Wyckoff 1992, 2001).

3.2 Public-Private School Choice

The topic of school choice is one of the most prevalent issues in education policy, and a significant amount of literature is devoted to the matter. As education is an important political issue, attention has extended far beyond academic literature, as issues concerning magnet schools, charter schools, and private school vouchers are frequently debated and in the news. In many areas, specifically large metropolitan cities, the traditional geographically-assigned system has given way to a multi-tiered system in which students are still assigned to a school based on their place of residence, but parents can choose (with some restrictions, such as enrollment caps) to send their children to any school in the district or county. The rise in popularity in recent decades of alternative public educational options has contributed to a wide array of programs aimed at enabling parents to exercise their school choice option and provide them with the information necessary to make an informed decision. These programs have been met with both criticism and praise, with conflicting studies showing that school choice programs either support (Chubb and Moe 1990, Godwin and Kemerer 2002) or hinder (Mills 2013, Sass 2006, Bifulco and Ladd 2006) student performance, as well as arguments that choice abets (Henig 1990, 1996, Mickelson 2005, Saporito 2003) or suppresses (Wells et al. 2000, Koedel et al. 2009, Saporito 2003, Schneider and Buckley 2002) segregation.

Two of the most prevalent types of public schools involved in school choice are magnet schools and charter schools. Magnet schools tend to specialize in a certain subject area, such as science, mathematics, or the arts, to attract students with similar interests and

talents from various communities. Magnet schools, although public and theoretically open to all students in a district or county, often have entrance requirements such as exams. Charter schools are publicly-funded schools operated by privately-managed groups under a legislative charter, giving the school greater autonomy in its decision-making. These decisions, ranging from curriculum to budget management, are intended to foster innovation with the hope of improving education in both the short and long terms. In exchange for this greater autonomy, charter schools are generally held to strict performance goals, which can lead to revocation of the charter and/or school closure if the standards are not met. Charter schools, because they are public, are also open to all students within a district or county, and do not charge tuition. Charter schools can essentially be thought of as a mix between public, private, and magnet schools.

Private schools do not receive direct government funding, and instead are funded by an organization (often a church or other religious organization) in addition to tuition payments. As such, private schools are free to include a religious-based curriculum unavailable in public schools. Religious-based schools account for the majority of private schools in the United States, and in 2007, about 6.2 million American students attended private schools, 11% of the national total (Hoffer 2009). While one of the most popular options to the public school system, the term "school choice" does not always include private schools. Private schools are obviously a choice in which parents can opt to send their children, but as private schools operate completely separate of the public school system, they are generally not included in "school choice" plans for most areas. However, some states have enacted programs such as scholarship tax credits and/or school vouchers, which provide parents with a certain amount of money per year to spend toward private school tuition. It is in these cases where private schools enter the arena of "school choice."

The modern concept of "school choice" traces its roots back to the era of integration, when many southern districts enacted "freedom of choice" plans in order to demonstrate that schools had been "integrated," when in reality, integration was minimal. "Freedom of choice," despite its patriotism-inducing name, was generally viewed as a tool to limit racial mixing – ensuring that white and black schools would, for the most part, remain separate. However, the introduction of magnet schools in the 1970s began to shift the view of school choice as a mechanism to support integration, rather than suppress it (Henig 1990).

As time passed, integration became more accepted, and as schools became more integrated, the attention to school choice has mostly shifted from an instrument to manipulate the racial composition of a school to one that can affect the overall quality of schooling. Magnet schools can act as "a vehicle for promoting choice while also promoting integration," but the primary focus of school choice now tends to be instead on school quality (Henig 1990).

Significant attention relevant to this study has been devoted to the multitude of issues involving school choice, including the school characteristics and preferences desired, the characteristics of parents who choose alternative schools and students who attend them, the role of geography in school choice, and factors contributing to alternative school choice.

Multiple studies have shown that families who choose private school exhibit similar characteristics. Parents who attended college are significantly more likely to choose private school, as parents with more education generally also desire more education for their children (Buddin et al. 1998, Goldring and Phillips 2008, Hamilton and Guin 2005, Long and Toma 1988) and presumably have more financial resources available to spend on better education. Parents who are more involved in their children's education choose private

school more often than parents who are less involved (Goldring and Phillips 2008). Older parents are also more likely to enroll their children in private school, likely because they tend to have a more stable income than younger parents (Buddin et al. 1998, Long and Toma 1988), and as family income increases, the demand for and likelihood of private school enrollment also increases (Goldring and Phillips 2008, Long and Toma 1988, Reardon and Yun 2005). It has been observed that for white families, socioeconomic status (SES) plays a less important role in school choice than for minorities (Zheng et al. 2010), and at all income levels, white families have been shown to have a higher percentage of private school enrollment versus other races (Reardon and Yun 2005). As can be expected, the more children in a family, the likelihood of private school attendance decreases, likely due to financial constraints. Interestingly, single parents have also been shown to be more likely to choose private school (Buddin et al. 1998).

Buddin et al. (1988) found that black and white families in California have comparable probabilities for private school enrollment, with Hispanics and Asians having lower probabilities than both black and white families. Overall, non-Hispanic Catholics were 7% more likely to attend private schools. Furthermore, females were 1% more likely to attend private school than males, a statistic that Buddin et al. see as the result of single-sex schools. Goldring and Phillips (2008) found similar characteristics in Nashville, Tennessee; Catholics and white families are more likely to attend private school than any other religious group or race.

Parents have been shown to prefer schools that are: academically superior, match their values, safe, geographically convenient, and have fewer children from lower socioeconomic classes as well as fewer children of color (Bell 2009, Goldring and Phillips 2008, Zheng 2009). Of these characteristics, academic rigor and safety tend to rank highest

on the priority list (Bell 2009, Hamilton and Guin 2005). Parents who choose private school typically cite academics as the impetus for their decision, and academics appear to be valued equally among low and high-income families, minorities, and white families (Goldring and Phillips 2008, Hamilton and Guin 2005). Minorities and families with low SES appear to be more concerned with the "basics," (math, reading, and writing) than white families and families with high SES (Hamilton and Guin 2005).

However, non-white families are slightly less likely to identify academics as the most important factor in choosing private school. Safety was more likely to be ranked higher by minorities and lower-income families than middle-class and white families (Goldring and Phillips 2008, Hamilton and Guin 2005). The importance of test scores showed similar patterns, in that they were ranked as more important to low-SES and minority parents than high-SES and white parents. As a whole, it is clear that families of different races and incomes "stress a different set of values in education and choose schools that reflect the fundamental (and different) dimensions of education they view as important" (Hamilton and Guin 2005). Furthermore, school diversity was shown to have a higher importance among white families with college-educated parents, and less of a deciding factor among minorities and families without a college-educated parent (Goldring and Phillips 2008).

However, the Carnegie Foundation (1992) expressed doubt as to whether parents were making the right school decisions. The report found that "many parents base their school choice decision on factors that have nothing to do with the quality of education," such as the availability of day care, geographical convenience, or the quality of the school's athletic teams. The report declares that "school choice works better for some parents than

for others. Those with education … may be able to participate in such programs" (Carnegie Foundation 1992).

Parents may be unlikely to report on surveys that they factored race and/or geographic convenience in their decision. However, it has been found that what parents say does not always match what they do – their stated preferences often do not match their actual behavior (Hamilton and Guin 2005). One study of charter schools in Texas found significant discrepancies in parents' preferences in surveys versus their behavior. Parents ranked racial composition as their least important characteristic on surveys, but it was found to be one of the best predictors of their eventual decision (Weiher and Tedin 2002). Test scores, on the other hand, were ranked as the most important characteristic, but were found to have no significant effect. Schneider and Buckley (2002) found that on surveys, all races cited teacher quality and high test scores among their most desired characteristics, while their actual behavior indicates that race and class are among the most significant determinants of which schools parents choose. Schneider and Buckley conclude that "although parents will almost always say academics matter … and almost never admit to caring about student demographics, our data show that race is fundamentally important to them" (Schneider and Buckley 2002).

The findings of Saporito and Lareau (1999) corroborate this, finding that in a "densely-populated urban school district in the northeastern United States" containing over 150,000 students, the majority of white parents employed a two-step process to select a school for their children. First, they eliminated majority-black schools. Then, they applied other criteria, such as academic quality and school safety. The authors note that by eliminating the majority-black schools, the white parents sometimes chose less-safe schools with lower academic quality. It was also found that black parents did not seem to factor race

into their decision, however, school poverty and low socioeconomic status did play a role (Saporito and Lareau 1999). Again, parents may be "concealing their true preferences, giving the socially appropriate response when asked" (Hamilton and Guin 2005).

Henig (1990) found similar qualities in his analysis of transfer requests to magnet schools in Montgomery County, Maryland. White families were more likely to request a transfer to a magnet school if the magnet school had a lower population of minorities. Similarly, minorities tended to transfer more often to magnet schools that already had a high minority population. Henig concludes that "whites and minorities seem to direct their choices toward schools in which their children will be less likely to be racially or socioeconomically isolated" (Henig 1990). This corroborates the findings of Bell (2009), who found that if children do not feel they fit in socially and/or academically, they often report frustration, unhappiness, and sometimes discrimination. A study in St. Louis further confirmed this, showing that black families often chose inner-city, culturally-familiar schools even when other schools had superior academic reputations. When black families did choose a suburban, majority-white school, they seemingly chose arbitrarily among them (Hamilton and Guin 2005).

Parents may use information regarding race, ethnicity, or SES as proxies for school quality. For instance, parents may assume schools with students with high SES have substantial resources, produce high quality work, have a high level of parental involvement, and high quality teachers. Indeed, studies reveal that high-poverty schools and schools with a large concentration of minorities have, on average, less resources and lower teacher quality than schools with fewer poor or minority students (Hamilton and Guin 2005).

Geographically, all racial and income groups have cited close proximity to their residence as an important factor (Bell 2009, Goldring and Phillips 2008). This became more

important as income and other resources decreased (Goldring and Phillips 2008). Long and Toma (1991) also found that families living in the center city were more likely to choose private school, corresponding with a view that "central city public schools tend to have more problems" such as crime and poor discipline. Those living in the center city, a more densely populated area, are also likely to be within closer proximity to more schooling options.

Public school quality has been found to have a mixed effect on alternative school choice. While it has been found that lower perceived quality of public schools results in a higher likelihood of private school choice, public high school test scores have no statistically significant effect on enrollment (Buddin et al. 1998). Hamilton and Guin (2006) found that parents that are dissatisfied with their zoned public school, unsurprisingly, may explore other options. Zheng (2009) found that academic quality sometimes mattered more than location among parents in the Columbia, South Carolina, area, and that "some urban schools with good academic reputations were immune to white flight," and "some poor-performing suburban schools suffered white losses" (Zheng 2009). However, Goldring and Phillips (2008) found in their study of Nashville schools that there is more of a "pull" to private schools rather than a "push" from public, and that parent satisfaction with a previous school had no effect on the likelihood that parents would consider private schools.

On the topic of student performance, private school attendance has been linked to higher student achievement. Higher achievement in private school has long been attributed to and associated with student affluence, as affluent students tend to have more of the characteristics that are associated with success in school. However, many studies have shown a "private school effect:" that even private schools (specifically Catholic schools) with disadvantaged students consistently outperform public school students (Hoffer 2009,

Lubienski et al. 2009, Coleman & Hoffer 1987, Coleman et al. 1982, Bryk et al. 1993, Chubb and Moe 1990, Greeley 1982).

This information is presented as a review of school choice as a whole. Factors influencing school choice in the study area may differ, however, given the demographic composition of area residents and area schools, it is assumed that at least some of these trends help to explain the overall state of school choice in the study area. As there are very small numbers of homeschooled students, no magnet schools, and only one (special education-oriented) charter school in the study area, school choice in Sumter, Clarendon, and Lee Counties essentially entails two options: public school or private school.

3.3 A History of School Segregation in South Carolina

One of the darkest spots in the history of South Carolina concerns the state's treatment of racial minorities in the area of education. Well before the Civil War, since at least 1740, South Carolina laws specifically forbade slaves the right to receive an education (Truitt 2006, Gona 2011). Drastic, but fleeting, changes followed in the era of Reconstruction following the war. During this era in the 1860s-70s, a U.S. Army-controlled state government and pro-Union Republican-controlled state legislature (Foner 1988) enabled South Carolina's black population, totaling nearly 59% in 1870 (Gibson and Jung 2002), to exercise their right to vote. From 1870 to 1876, South Carolina elected 190 black state legislators and sent six black delegates to the United States Congress, the most of any state during this period (Foner 1988). It was in 1868, during this brief pre-Jim Crow era, that the South Carolina state constitution was rewritten by "a group of African-Americans, northerners, and 'scalawag' white natives" (Truitt 2006). A significant advancement

included in the 1868 constitution was the provision of a free public school system for "all children of both races, regardless of wealth." (Bartels 1984)

This advancement would prove to be short-lived. The Compromise of 1877 released the governments of Southern states from U.S. Army control, enabling Southern Democrats to regain control of the state governments, disenfranchise black voters, and rapidly usher in the era of Jim Crow (Foner 1988). This Jim Crow period of heightened racially-based discrimination is generally recognized to have lasted from roughly the 1870s to the mid-1960s. The Jim Crow era is considered to be the nadir of American race relations, when *de jure* segregation and race-based discrimination was most widespread and prevalent. While segregationist laws were enacted throughout the United States during this era, the practice has been most associated with the American South, home to some of the last places to strike down laws prohibiting the mixing of races (Douglas 2005). Segregation was seen by many as ingrained into the Southern way of life, and the integration of society was continuously met with extreme displays of protest and violence (Egerton 1991).

By 1880 at the latest, schools had been segregated, and white and black schools received an average of $2.75 and $2.51 per student, respectively. By 1895, this figure had risen to $3.11 per student for white schools, while dropping to $1.05 per student for black schools (Bartels 1984). The progressive 1868 constitution would also be scrapped in 1895, replaced by a new constitution that specifically mandated school segregation: "Separate schools shall be provided for children of the white and colored races, and no child of either race shall ever be permitted to attend a school provided for children of another race" (Truitt 2006, Bartels 1984, Gona 2011).

Despite the Supreme Court's 1896 requirement in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that segregation, if present, must be "separate but equal," (Kauper 1954) equality between white

and black schools was rarely, if ever, achieved. The entire public school system in South Carolina during the turn of the 20th century was in shambles – woefully underfunded, with the quality of a rural white school lagging far behind that of an urban white school, at a time when roughly 85% of the state's population classified as rural. What little funding that was allocated was not required to be spent equally among the white and black schools, ensuring that black schools would lag behind most of all. Due in part to this failing educational system where approximately 75% of white students never completed past the fifth grade, one third of South Carolinians were illiterate during this time. In the late 1870s, a reported 57% were "unable to read the ballots they cast in the last election." Stark differences between white and black schools remained present – in 1916, white schools averaged 37 students per class, while black schools had an average class size of 72. School term length also varied significantly between two sets of variables: white versus black and urban versus rural. White urban schools averaged a 171-day school year, compared to 137 days for white rural schools, 93 days for black urban schools, and 69 days for black rural schools (Bartels 1984).

Laws intended to combat illiteracy by requiring school attendance were not enacted until 1915, and a statewide law requiring school attendance remained absent until 1921. Even then, the law was rarely enforced, as there were no attendance officers to do so (Bartels 1984). At many rural black schools, school attendance waxed and waned according to the harvest season. Older children would miss school due to harvest season, appear shortly before Thanksgiving and leave in early spring. Rainy days would see larger attendance, unless the weather cleared, at which time the plantation owners would arrive at school to call the children back to work. Only the youngest children would attend school for the full term, as older children were contracted to work in the fields (Charron 2009).

For both black and white schools in South Carolina during the turn of the 20th century, the conditions of schools were abysmal, and teacher quality left much to be desired. The entire school system was miserably disorganized, and the issue of how to obtain funds was fiercely divided among those who favored a locally-based funding system versus a system driven by state taxes. State Superintendent of Education John McMahan said in a 1900 report to the state General Assembly, "each district has as poor schools as its people will tolerate – and in some districts, anything will be tolerated." Teachers were poorly qualified at best, incompetent at worst, paid very little, and difficult to attract. Chronically overcrowded and underfunded, the schools for black children tended to be the worst – as reported by W.K. Tate, South Carolina's first rural elementary school supervisor:

> The Negro schoolhouses are miserable beyond description … most of the teachers are absolutely untrained and have been given certificates by the county board not because they have passed the examination, but because it is necessary to have some kind of a Negro teacher. Among the Negro rural schools I have visited, I have found only one in which the highest class has known the multiplication table (Bartels 1984).

The quality of black teachers remained low for decades. Cyril Busbee, an educator and South Carolina Education Association committee member, described black teachers in the 1930s as "for all effects and purposes, illiterate or near it" and "just as deprived as the kids," often a product of the same miserable schools in which they would eventually teach (Bartels 1984).

While funding for all schools was inadequate, white schools eventually began to experience some funding increases, whereas black schools saw little. By the 1913-14 school year, the average dollar spent for pupil had increased to $14.94 per white student, with the same figure for black children at a stagnant $1.86. The doctrine of "separate but equal" also

failed to see equalization in teacher salaries until 1945. In 1913-14, the average salary was $610 per year for white male teachers and $322 per year for white females (Bartels 1984). Adjusted for inflation, these salaries equate to $14,217 and $7,504, respectively, in 2013 dollars (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2014). Black teachers in 1913-14 were paid a fraction of what already amounted to a pittance: $133 for black males and $107 for black females – $3,099 and $2,493 in 2013 dollars (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2014, Bartels 1984). This gap would only continue to widen. Measures designed to improve the condition and quality of rural schools, such as the 1924 "6-0-1 Law" were enacted. Under the "6-0-1 Law," the state foot the bill for six months of instruction in exchange for one month paid for by the school district, with no required contribution by the county (the source of the "6-0-1" moniker). However, this law was extended only to white schools, leaving black schools to seek funding on their own (Bartels 1984, Gona 2011).

The Great Depression and World War II eras continued to negatively affect the state of education in South Carolina. As budgets began to tighten during the Depression, funding for white and black schools alike were slashed, further constraining the already-meager budgets in black schools. Even World War II, often regarded as one of the primary catalysts that served to lift the United States out of the Depression, had mixed effects on South Carolina schools. Prior to the war, South Carolina ranked near the bottom of national rankings in per-pupil spending and average teacher salary. Many teachers and administrators left the education field for military duty or for better-paying jobs supporting the war effort, creating a statewide (and presumably nationwide) teacher shortage. In the end, a revived economy did result in more money for schools due to increases in income and property tax revenue (Bartels 1984).

However, just as the preponderance of South Carolinians that performed poorly on military literacy tests during World War I resulted in increased attention and funding toward public schools in the 1920s, the number of South Carolina draftees rejected for physical, mental, and/or educational deficiencies during World War II (more than any state except Alabama) provided incentive for the state to divert more funding and attention to public education (Bartels 1984). Teacher pay, still unequal by race and gender until 1945, increased in the 1940s to an average of $998 per year for white males ($16,614 in 2013 dollars), $856 for white females ($14,250), $411 for black males ($6,842), and $372 for black females ($6,193) (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2014, Bartels 1984). Compared with the adjusted-for-inflation figures from 1913-14, this represents an increase, in 2013 dollars, of about $2,397 per year for white males, $6,746 for white females, $3,743 for black males, and $3,700 for black females (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2014). Among other improvements, classroom sizes also shrank to an average of 29 in white schools and 35 in black schools (compared to 37 and 72, respectively, in 1916), the elementary school year was increased to 178 days for white schools and 162 days for black schools, twelfth grade was added in 1944, and consolidation of South Carolina's alarmingly inefficient 1,700 school districts began in 1948 (Bartels 1984).

Despite these progressions, "separate and unequal" treatment continued to plague South Carolina's schools. By 1949, $111 was being spent annually statewide per white student, compared to $50 per black student. Average teacher salary in the same year, despite being made equal across gender and racial lines by law in 1945, was $2,057 for white teachers and $1,414 for black teachers. This was possible due to the new salary schedule determined by education, experience, and grade on the National Teacher Examination (NTE), on which more white teachers received an "A." The value of white

school property stood at $68.4 million, versus $12.9 million for black schools; and 799 black schools employed only one teacher, compared to 180 white schools. One of the most drastic inequities was in the area of school transportation, where $2.4 million was being spent per year for white students, contrasted against only $184,000 for black students (Bartels 1984).

The discrepancy in money spent for transportation between white and black students served to be the proverbial crack in the ice that split open the issue of segregated schools – and, by association, segregation itself. A sparsely populated, rural landscape such as that in Clarendon County ensured by nature that many students would live miles from a school. At that time in Clarendon County, and in rural areas throughout the South, bus transportation was provided for white children considerably more often than for black children. Despite black students outnumbering white students three to one, Clarendon County operated over thirty buses for white children but none for black children (Truitt 2006, Felder 2012). For those able to ride a school bus, this geographical barrier from education was lessened, if not fully negated. For students who lacked bus transportation, such as black students in Clarendon County, these barriers to receiving a formal education were ever-present. The only option for many black students was to walk to a high school as far as ten miles away one-way, effectively leading many to drop out (Gona 2011, Felder 2012, Evans 2004) and undoubtedly contributing to the alarmingly high rate of total or functional illiteracy for black adults in South Carolina in 1948 – 62% for black adults, compared to 18% for whites (Edgar 1992). The issue of school transportation was, as acknowledged by South Carolina State Senator W.B. Harvey in 1943:

> …the one most vulnerable spot we have [regarding] discrimination against Negroes … It takes the same muscular effort for a colored boy to walk three miles to school as a white. We can get around the difference in teacher salaries on the basis of certification of fitness … But on school bus transportation, as an attorney I could not file an answer to a charge of discrimination (Gona 2011).

Indeed, a lawsuit was filed in 1948 by Levi Pearson, a black farmer in Clarendon County, asking the Clarendon County School Board for funds to operate a bus for black schoolchildren (Truitt 2006, Felder 2012). After being denied by the county school board in a request to provide a bus for black children, then again denied a request to provide gasoline for a used bus Pearson and his neighbors had purchased, *Pearson v. Clarendon County Board of Education* was filed in Florence, South Carolina in March 1948. This lawsuit would eventually be dismissed due to a technicality concerning where Pearson paid his taxes, but the first legal steps had been taken (Felder 2012).

With legal assistance from NAACP lawyer and future Supreme Court justice Thurgood Marshall, another lawsuit, *Briggs v. Elliott*, was filed in 1949. This time, the objective of the suit was not solely for the provision of a bus, but for the complete equality of white and black schools (Truitt 2006, Felder 2012). After being convinced by Judge J. Waties Waring, a white federal judge from Charleston, South Carolina, known for his opposition to segregation, Marshall further amended the *Briggs* case, challenging the entire constitutionality of segregation itself rather than suing for equal funding (Felder 2012). After losing in federal court in Charleston, *Briggs* was appealed to the Supreme Court, where it was combined with four other cases regarding segregation and education into *Brown v. Board of Education* (Truitt 2006).

The issue of segregation and "separate but equal" began to ascend to the forefront of political concern in the early 1950s. James F. Byrnes, a former delegate to the House and

Senate, Supreme Court justice, and Secretary of State, came out of semi-retirement to serve as Governor of South Carolina. One of Byrnes' foremost concerns, comprising a large part of his campaign platform, was the state's abysmal reputation concerning education. However, as a staunch segregationist looking to avoid integration, Byrnes advocated the improvement of black schools to preserve the "great institution" of segregation and hoped to meet the "separate but equal" standard established by the Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (Gona 2011, Bartels 1984). In his 1951 inaugural address as governor, Byrnes recommended that $75 million be put forth to equalize schools (Gona 2011) and approved a three percent sales tax increase to raise the necessary funds (Bartels 1984).

This appropriation of funding resulted in a school construction boom, drastically altering public education in South Carolina. With the intention of upgrading the school system to meet "separate but equal," nearly $125 million was spent to improve the condition of the state's schools and school transportation system during the first half of the 1950s (Edgar 1992). Approximately 70 percent of this money went directly toward improving black schools, resulting in the construction of roughly 200 black and 70 white schools, and also improving 250 schools for both races (Bartels 1984). Many of these schools are still in use today. In Clarendon County District 22, the site of the inequality that spurred the *Pearson* and *Briggs* suits, $894,000 was spent on black schools, versus $103,000 for white schools. Another drastic change was that schools and districts were consolidated heavily and rapidly. The number of school districts throughout the state was reduced from 1,200 to 102, and one and two-room schools were all but eliminated. In total, 824 schools were closed by the mid-1950s. This consolidation of schools naturally had geographical implications – students were now attending schools farther from their homes. By the mid-1950s, black students in South Carolina had state-funded school buses for the first time,

with about one-third of the state's 229,000 black students and roughly half of the 296,000 white students riding buses to school (Bartels 1984, Edgar 1992).

Byrnes' efforts, while drastically improving public educational facilities for both races, did not satisfy his overall objective – to preserve segregation by making facilities "separate but equal." The Supreme Court overturned the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1954 in *Brown v. Board*, finding that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" (Ogletree 2004). The *Brown* decision, of course, did not result in the integration of public schools overnight. A 1955 follow-up decision to *Brown*, known colloquially as "*Brown II*," did not stipulate the degree of integration required to become satisfactory, nor did not set a specific date, requiring only that schools desegregate "with all deliberate speed" (Clotfelter 2004).

In reality, schools were desegregated not "with all deliberate speed," but instead with any conceivable delay (Adams 2003). Token measures were undertaken by school districts as indications of integration at the most minimal level, such as "freedom of choice" plans that placed the burden onto black families to apply to white schools, or the admission of a small number of black students to an otherwise all-white school (Clotfelter 2004). From the eve of the *Brown* decision to 1964, only one percent of black children in the South attended formerly all-white schools (Nevin and Bills 1976).

In 1954, at the time of the *Brown* decision, every public school district in South Carolina was segregated on the basis of race (United States Commission on Civil Rights [USCCR] 2008). It would be until 1963 before Jacqueline Ford and Millicent Brown became the first black students to attend a previously all-white South Carolina public school (Bartels 1984). By 1964, less than two percent of formerly segregated schools nationwide had been integrated (USCCR 2008). Because of the ambiguity in *Brown II*, schools in many

Southern states continued to be almost completely segregated until the Supreme Court's 1968 decision in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*, which required more stringent policies designed to integrate schools and formally defined segregation as "identifiably white and black schools" (Clotfelter 2004).

It was in the 1960s that integration appeared imminent. Families that did not agree with school integration, or the methods used to do so, began to explore alternative options (Scheer 1955). The one percent of black children that had attended formerly all-white schools from 1954 to 1964 had increased to 46% from 1964 to 1973 (Nevin and Bills 1976). Seeing the impending end of segregation, some – from political leaders to everyday citizens – were prepared to take drastic action. Some parents even considered segregation more important than education, and the idea of closing the public school system altogether, rather than integrating it, began to be seriously discussed (Scheer 1955, Edgar 1992). In at least one area, an entire school – principal, teachers, and students – boycotted the local school in protest of integration (Bartels 1984). Seemingly any tactic began to be used to prevent desegregation, personified by South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond's record 24-hour, 18-minute filibuster that attempted to block the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1957 (Edgar 1992).

Enrolling children into private school became a popular choice, and, accordingly, the number of private schools in the South increased exponentially during this time (Nevin and Bills 1976). Private schools catering to the desire to preserve segregation, known as "segregation academies" or "white-flight schools," began to emerge not just in South Carolina, but throughout the South. Parents of 25,000 mostly-white children in South Carolina alone opted to enroll their children in private schools from 1968 to 1973 (Nevin and Bills 1976, Bartels 1984).

While complete integration of Southern schools was continually delayed following nearly every Supreme Court case since *Brown*, the Court's 1969 *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education* decision ended any further postponement. The decision in *Alexander* ordered states "to terminate dual [segregated] school systems at once and to operate now and hereafter only unitary [integrated] schools" (Woodward and Armstrong 1979). While some individual districts integrated prior to this date, all school districts in South Carolina were formally integrated in 1970 (Baker 2006). All six school districts in Clarendon, Lee, and Sumter counties were fully integrated in either the 1969-70 or 1970-71 schoolyears (School Directory of South Carolina 1969, 1970).

The logistics of integration forced individual schools and districts to introduce inventive methods to accommodate a larger, integrated student body. For example, in Sumter School District 17, schools were integrated for the 1969-70 schoolyear. The formerly black Lincoln High School and formerly white Edmunds High School merged to form Sumter High School in 1969-70, with Edmunds operating as a separate (integrated) high school for higher grades until 1970-71. Beginning in 1971-72, Sumter High School operated as District 17's only high school, but was spread across as many as three completely separate campuses, each housing different grades. For example, during the 1976-77 schoolyear, Sumter High's grade 9 classrooms were located at the former (white) McLaurin Middle School, grade 10 at the former (black) Lincoln High School, and grades 11 and 12 at the former (white) Edmunds High School. The three campuses were located a total of approximately one mile from one another. This fragmented multi-campus arrangement continued until the 1987-88 schoolyear, when a newly-constructed campus housed all of Sumter High School's students for the first time (School Directory of South Carolina, 1968-1972, 1976, 1987).

Federal judicial oversight continued over many South Carolina school districts through the 1970s and 1980s. However, by the 1990s, the Supreme Court acknowledged that federal judicial supervision should end in districts that have shown compliance with the desegregation order for a significant period of time. In two cases, *Board of Education of Oklahoma City Public Schools v. Dowell* (1991) and *Freeman v. Pitts* (1992), the Court further clarified the process by which districts could attain unitary status, freeing themselves from federal judicial oversight (USCCR 2007).

However, many school districts throughout the United States remain under school desegregation court orders, meaning they have not attained unitary status. As recently as May 2007, at least 266 of these court orders remained in effect. These court orders often remain outdated, complicated, and typically "little reliable information exists that can provide a complete picture as to the nature of ongoing court-ordered desegregation" (USCCR 2007). In some instances, "not even the school districts understand the scope of the court orders that bind them." This, for a multitude of reasons, has affected decisions as to whether certain districts have even attempted to seek unitary status (ibid.). For a district to remain under non-unitary status does not mean that schools in that district are still *de jure* segregated, only that the district has not sought to end federal judicial oversight. In a 2007 report, the United States Commission on Civil Rights found that these "legal status differences are not statistically significant," suggesting that the differences between a unitary versus non-unitary district are generally little more than legal formalities.

This 2007 investigation found that 18 districts in South Carolina have attained unitary status, while 14 districts remain under non-unitary status and under federal court order for desegregation (USCCR 2007). A 2008 report, however, found 15 districts in South Carolina under court order (USCCR 2008). 53 districts were never placed under court order,

opting instead for voluntary agreements with the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights to implement desegregation plans, known as "Form 441-B" plans (USCCR 2007).

The aforementioned reports show that school districts within the study area vary in their attainment, or lack thereof, of unitary status. Clarendon School District 2, Lee County School District, and Sumter County School District 2 have attained unitary status and are no longer subject to federal oversight. Clarendon School Districts 1 and 3 remain under court order and have not attained unitary status, while Sumter School District 17 was not subject to school desegregation litigation (USCCR 2007).

The legal chapter concerning *de facto* segregation in South Carolina schools will not be closed until all school districts within South Carolina have attained unitary status, showing that "the school board had complied in good faith with the desegregation decree since it was entered," and "the vestiges of past discrimination had been eliminated to the extent practicable" (USCCR 2007). However, as some districts are no longer actively attempting to attain unitary status, it remains to be seen when the formal and legal aspects of school integration will finally end.

3.4 Segregation Academies

The term "segregation academy" or "white flight school" has been attributed to the comparatively large number of private schools that opened in the South during the era of integration. The nomenclature used – "segregation academy" versus "white flight school" or simply "private school" – can be troublesome, as the term "segregation academy" obviously carries an overtly derisive connotation. Other names coined for these newly-founded private schools included "Council Schools," "independent schools," "alternative schools," "rebel yell academies," and "Christian academies" (Palmer 1974). Not all private schools

founded in the South during the era of integration were founded on the basis of preserving segregation, but changes in the social climate such as integration undoubtedly helped create a larger demand for private schools during the 1960s and 1970s, a large number of which were segregated. A "segregation academy" has specifically been defined in the U.S. Court of the Southern District of Mississippi's 1969's *Coffey v. State Educational Financial Commission* decision as "a private school operated on a racially segregated basis as an alternative available to white students seeking to avoid desegregated public schools" (Claybrook 1976).

David Nevin and Robert E. Bills' *The Schools That Fear Built: Segregationist Academies in the South* provides an in-depth history of segregation academies and a description of the social climate of the times in which they were founded. Nevin and Bills also offer a comprehensive analysis of the characteristics of eleven "newly developed" private schools in four Southern states (South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee) during the 1974-75 schoolyear. The physical characteristics of segregation academies, their founding processes, and the quality of education provided are among many of the variables observed. Nevin and Bills' book is valuable as it is one of few academic works focused on segregation academies during the time of their foundation and emergence, though it is dated and lacking in contemporary information regarding the schools.

To attribute the growth of private schools in the South during the era of integration solely to racist beliefs and fear of integration is too simplistic and inaccurate, as there were numerous other factors during this time that could have led to an increase in demand for private and/or church-run schools. One socioeconomic factor was the increased affluence of the American public following World War II, with more families able to afford private education for their children (Palmer 1974). The 1960s and 1970s were also extremely

turbulent decades in regard to American society, values, and culture – desegregation being only one of many controversial issues during those years. Mandatory prayer and Bible reading in public schools were ruled unconstitutional during this time in 1962's *Engel v. Vitale* and 1963's *Abington School District v. Schempp* (Elifson and Hadaway 1985). The controversial "Lemon Test," used to determine whether legislation advances a religion, was introduced as part of the Court's 1971 decision in *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, a case that originally concerned religion in schools (Kritzer and Richards 2003). The debate and controversy regarding the teaching of Darwinian evolution in public schools was also highly prevalent during the 1960s and 1970s, including cases such as *Epperson v. Arkansas* in 1968 (Thorndike 1999). Concern over changes in sex education in schools was also a hotly debated and controversial topic during this time (Palmer 1974). While only tangentially related to education and schools, the Supreme Court's 1973 decision on the legality of abortion in *Roe v. Wade*, and the subsequent rift the decision made and continues to make in American politics and society, is representative and indicative of such controversy.

The fierce debate and controversy over busing to achieve racial integration also undoubtedly contributed to a rise in the demand for private schools. "I am revolting against busing," summarily explained one parent (Nevin and Bills 1976). The Supreme Court unanimously approved the practice busing across school attendance lines to achieve racial integration in its 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* decision. This decision resulted in busing programs implemented in many large, urban districts, throughout the United States, such as Boston, Charlotte, Nashville, Los Angeles, Richmond, and Seattle (Wells 1993, Wells et al. 2000, Stulberg 2008, Lord 1975). These programs required students to be bused, often to a geographically inconvenient school, to achieve a desired degree of racial balance, and came to be known as "forced busing" (Wells et al.

2000). William Bradford Reynolds, assistant attorney for civil rights, remarked on a panel in 1982: "In city after city, we have seen the courts' preoccupation with busing drive large numbers of students from the public schools, in many instances increasing, rather than decreasing, isolation" (Education Week 1982). One study found that "forced busing" had a positive effect on private school enrollment in North Carolina (Farrell et al. 1974), and another study of Charlotte found that white students "abandoned" public schools at a higher rate when bused into black neighborhoods than black students bused into white neighborhoods (Lord 1975). One private school headmaster in the 1970s clearly recognized the impact of busing, saying "we'd have begun anyway, but the busing order gave us five to ten years of growth compressed into one year" (Nevin and Bills 1976). In any case, it is evident that busing was a divisive, racially-entwined issue that helped to accelerate private school attendance and growth.

An explicitly pessimistic view of American society, its direction, and its future tended to be an opinion shared by many of those that started the new private schools, the parents that patronized them, and the students that attended them. To them, the United States had seemingly reached its social and cultural zenith in the 1950s, and any further change was negative.

> Life is moving ever faster and they don't like its direction. With uniformity … they link into one disconcerting, unsavory whole the things they find disturbing – the end of the old-fashioned patriotism, the new view of America's role in the world, the changing attitude toward authority and leaders, shrinking church attendance, rising divorce rates, acceptance of pre-marital sex, dirty movies, public nudity, foul language, the loosening of constraint and custom, abortion, crime, drugs, erosion of the work ethic, textbooks that question old values and old heroes and the countless other manifestations of a new view of themselves that many Americans now are entertaining. We have become soft, they say, permissive, afraid of divisive elements in our society … They believe they see a disintegrating society (Nevin and Bills 1976).

As this view of American society began to mount and take on meaning beyond simple resistance to integration, the private school movement grew symbiotically. A feeling developed "among many new school people, for example, that Billy Graham is dangerously far to the left if not already a captive of worldly, modernist forces" (Nevin and Bills 1976).

This secularization and liberalization of public schools, combined with an increase in religious fundamentalism, clearly led to an increase in demand for private or church-run schools. This was especially true in a region personified by religious fundamentalism such as the "Bible Belt," the predominantly conservative and fundamentalist Protestant region generally associated with the American South (Brunn et al. 2011). The attitudes and values of fundamentalist religious groups and groups in favor of preserving segregation would very often coincide. As integration was seemingly the "last straw" for many whites to flee *en masse* from public schools, the increase and prevalence of private schools in the 1960s and 1970s in the South is undoubtedly intertwined heavily with desegregation. The correlation between the integration of public schools and the establishment of segregated private schools is "too strong to deny" (Walden and Cleveland 1971).

Historically, the South did not have the same tradition of private or college preparatory schools as other areas in the United States, such as the Northeast (Nevin and Bills 1976, Palmer 1974, Egerton 1991). Private schools certainly existed in the South before integration (mostly in larger cities), yet "old line" prep schools such as Charlotte Country Day School (Charlotte, NC) or previously-existing religious schools such as Harding Academy (Memphis, TN) saw spikes in enrollment when desegregation was imminent. In general, most of the South has also historically lacked high percentages of religious groups that have a long history of operating parochial schools, such as Catholics, Episcopalians, and Jews (Nevin and Bills 1976, Clotfelter 2004).

Parochial schools, while private, are generally considered to be different than other types of private schools. Parochial schools "exist mainly to educate members of a parish or group of parishes," exhibiting a "strong denominational tie" to a particular church or denomination (Palmer 1974), rather than the "nondenominational, pan-Protestant training" characterized by the Christian schools founded in the integration-era South (Reese 1985). Of course, parochial schools operated by Catholics, Episcopalians, and other religious groups, existed and continue to exist in the South, but were not as prevalent compared to other areas of the United States. In addition, some churches also responded directly, condemning the segregation academy movement. The Roman Catholic Diocese of Natchez-Jackson (Mississippi) issued a statement prohibiting "the construction or procuring of new or additional facilities to accommodate transferees from the public school system," the General Conference of the Methodist Church stated on record that it did not support the use of church buildings as segregated schools, and the Episcopal Diocese of Mississippi asked similarly that its churches not be used as segregated schools. (Palmer 1974)

For most Southern families, public schools provided an education of high enough quality to be "the avenue for hope that children might escape the economic blight that was the South's condition for so long" (Nevin and Bills 1976). Indeed, the 1949-50 South Carolina school directory does not include a separate listing for private schools, grouping them instead under the heading "Miscellaneous Schools and Orphanages" that barely occupies one and one-half page. A total of thirty-four schools are listed, twenty-five are listed as "white" and nine as "Negro." Of the twenty-five "white" schools, twelve are Catholic schools, at least three appear to be orphanages, four are state-run schools (such as the South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind), and two are military academies. The remaining four schools appear to serve a specific purpose – such as Winthrop Training

School in Rock Hill, a high school operated by Winthrop College for the purpose of training teachers.

The 1959-60 edition of the directory shows similar statistics. A total of forty-five independent, non-state-supported schools existed; thirty-three "white" and twelve "Negro." Thirteen "white" schools and three "Negro" schools operated a tenth grade or higher. Of the thirteen "white" schools, four were Catholic, five were otherwise religiously affiliated, and two were military academies. Only two (both single-sex schools) were not religiously affiliated. It is also of note that nearly every private high school listed was located in one of South Carolina's largest cities: Charleston, Columbia, or Greenville. Private or prep schools clearly did not have a large presence in mid-twentieth century South Carolina before the era of integration, and were essentially nonexistent in rural areas.

The number of private schools increased dramatically with desegregation. Compared to the 1949-50 and 1959-60 editions, the 1971-72 South Carolina school directory devotes eight full pages for the listing of approximately 180 private schools. Of these, 80 schools operated a tenth grade or higher. Excluding Catholic schools (many of which had existed in the 1949-50 directory), other religiously-affiliated schools, military academies, and single-sex schools, at least 53 schools designated as "private" or "independent" were open for high school-age pupils in South Carolina for the 1971-72 schoolyear. Private schools had spread beyond South Carolina's more populated areas, as a significant number of these schools were located in rural areas or small towns. Many of these areas also had a high percentage of black residents, such as Bowman (1970 population 1,095; 63.8% black), Estill (1,954; 59.7%), Blackville (2,395; 58.2%), and Allendale (3,620; 55.1%) (U.S. Census 1970). Desegregation assuredly was at least some

part of the impetus behind such a drastic increase in the number of and enrollment in private schools, specifically in rural areas that had lacked private schools a decade earlier.

This widespread and sudden increase of private schools occurred not only in South Carolina, but in states throughout the South that were under desegregation orders. However, a precise number of private schools, and their student enrollments, that opened in Southern states during the era of integration would be nearly impossible to obtain. The nature in which these schools were started – in effect protesting Supreme Court orders, carrying a "philosophical imperative that leads them to resist the collection of data" – inherently skewed any reports to the same authority that school officials and parents were resisting. Many schools were founded abruptly in a rush of political or religious fervor, and merged with other schools or closed altogether equally as quickly (Nevin and Bills 1976). Some states did not even require new schools to register, and as late as 1970, no state had a mandatory reporting system for private schools (Nevin and Bills 1976, Palmer 1974). Despite the presence of private school accreditation organizations such as the South Carolina Independent School Association (SCISA), founded in 1965 to organize and legitimize segregation academies (Ladson-Billings 2004), details such as the simple existence of a private school during this era could have easily gone almost completely undocumented. By association, more comprehensive statistics such as enrollment, attendance, standards, or accreditation were insufficiently documented for many schools (Palmer 1974). As such, the newly-founded schools were mostly unregulated, unmonitored, and devoid of nearly any statistical information (Nevin and Bills 1976).

However, the little statistical information that is available provides telling evidence. The Southern Regional Council recognized this phenomenon of increased private school prevalence in 1969, reporting that an estimated 300,000 children were enrolled in

segregated private schools throughout the South. This figure climbed to 400,000 later the same year, to 500,000 in 1970, and 535,000 in 1971. Thirteen Southern states' departments of education reported a total of 777,561 children enrolled in over a thousand private schools in 1970, with an acknowledgement that this figure was likely significantly lower than the actual number (Nevin and Bills 1976, Egerton 1991). In 1975, the same thirteen states reported private school enrollments of over 1.2 million, again with the same acknowledgement. The 1970 U.S. Census showed 947,229 enrolled in private schools in the South, but even this is considered to be a low figure. In Memphis, Tennessee, alone, the number of private schools and student enrollment increased from 41 and 12,000 in 1970 to over 125 and more than 37,000 in 1976 (Nevin and Bills 1976). In South Carolina, private school enrollment peaked at 54,000 in 1978, but had fallen to 46,000 by 1988 (Egerton 1991).

The Prince Edward Academy, the first segregation academy established solely to provide an alternative to integrated public schools, opened in Farmville, Virginia, in 1959 (Nevin and Bills 1976). That same year, schools in Prince Edward County had taken the drastic action of closing outright rather than desegregating (Egerton 1991), therefore the segregation academy emerged there "not actually in an escape from integrated public schools, but to escape from no schools at all" (Champagne 1973). A chain of segregation academies was opened Mississippi in 1964 by the Citizens' Council, a white supremacist organization formerly known as the White Citizens' Council. The first segregation academies in South Carolina also opened in 1964, including Wade Hampton Academy in Orangeburg and Thomas Sumter Academy in Sumter (Nevin and Bills 1976).

Segregation academies often, but not always, marketed themselves directly as anti-integration, and sometimes issued statements or placed stipulations in their charter or

mission statement prohibiting or discouraging minorities from applying. For example, the 1975-76 enrollment application for the Citizens' Council schools in Mississippi opened with:

> It is the belief of the Board of Directors of Council School Foundation that forced congregation of persons in social situations solely because they are of different races is a moral wrong, and it is the further belief … that the proven educational results of such forced interracial congregation are disastrous for children of both the white and black races. Council School Foundation was founded upon and is operated in accordance with this fundamental ethical and educational concept. … The curriculum of Council School Foundation is designed solely for the educational responses of white children. It follows, therefore, that only those students who are innately capable of a satisfactory learning response, in a true peer group, to this curriculum are qualified for enrollment (Nevin and Bills 1976).

The statement in the Mississippi Council schools' application is one of the most overtly racist and outwardly segregationist examples, but similar declarations could be found in the applications of other schools. The policies of Goldsboro Christian School (Goldsboro, NC), founded in 1963, included statements that God "separated mankind into various nations and races," and that such separation "should be preserved in the fear of the Lord" (Mayer 1974). SCISA did not outwardly market themselves as segregationists. However, the undertones were unquestionably present, as voiced by Tom Turnipseed, SCISA co-founder who would leave his executive director position at SCISA to become the executive director of George Wallace's ("segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever") presidential campaign:

> SCISA's stated purpose was to aid in the establishment of private elementary and secondary schools … The unstated purpose was to avoid the federally court-ordered racial segregation of the public schools. Since we were following a longstanding Southern tradition of being racists in denial, we simply denied race had anything to do with our motives … I often discussed how we should discreetly downplay race when asked by the media about the sudden flurry of private school activities, particularly in counties with large populations of blacks. We preferred to emphasize that we were simply putting parents in charge and giving them a choice of more educational opportunities for their children … as we went about naming the schools for Confederate figures like Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, Wade Hampton, and even Nathan Bedford Forrest who founded the Klan. The white power structure rallied round the private schools in communities with heavy black populations (Turnipseed 2005).

The widespread practice of segregation in private schools continued despite decisions such as 1970's *Green v. Connally*, which required private schools to demonstrate policies of non-discrimination to qualify for tax exemptions, as well as 1975 Internal Revenue Service (IRS) guidelines that required schools to make declarations of non-discrimination in their charter and other statements (Nevin and Bills 1976). The enforcement of these provisions proved to be the death knell for some segregation academies that refused to incorporate such statements, particularly ones that served working-class clientele that could not afford tuition increases to offset the funding lost by tax exemptions. Other schools, presumably with more robust financial backing or a more upper-class clientele, ignored this policy and continued to operate without a tax exemption (Palmer 1974). In the six years following the requirement, the IRS revoked a total of 106 such tax exemptions to private schools on the basis of failing to meet the non-discrimination standard (Nevin and Bills 1976).

Yet others, under the threat of losing a tax exemption that represented a sizeable part of their budget, did a quick and complete about-face. Statements prohibiting minority enrollment were replaced overnight with statements of non-discrimination and open

admission, knowing fully from the beginning that they would expect few or no applications from black families. Aside from a school environment that would likely range from unwelcoming to outright dangerous for a black student, blacks were mostly uninterested in applying at a segregation academy. If nothing else, the low number of exemptions revoked by the IRS underscores the weakness of the guidelines and how little they affected reality. The academies were still able to preserve *de facto* segregation, with or without statements either directly discriminating against minority enrollment or claiming non-discriminatory practices. As one civil rights activist stated, "It's an insult to ask a black child to enroll in a school established to avoid integration after he has waited fifteen or twenty years for public schools to desegregate" (Nevin and Bills 1976).

The private school movement during the era of integration included both secular and faith-based schools. As the view of a failing American society (public schools included) began to become more widespread, the Christian academy began to overtake the secular academy as the destination for those disenchanted with the public school system (Nevin and Bills 1976). Christian schools were often non-denominational but "pan-Protestant" in nature (Reese 1985). As a whole, the Christian academies may have not been directly founded as a haven for segregation, but the vast majority of their students shared one glaring common trait: white. Under the definition of "segregation academy" outlined in the *Coffey* decision ("*a private school operated on a racially segregated basis as an alternative available to white students seeking to avoid desegregated public schools*"), most Christian academies established in the South during this time would have qualified. The lines between a "Christian school" and a "segregation academy" could become blurred easily and often. The schools tended to share many similar qualities, namely political viewpoints and demographic characteristics. In the instances where many hastily-formed schools merged

with one another or closed, leaving their students to seek schooling elsewhere, "Christian schools" and "segregation academies" often became one in the same (Nevin and Bills 1976). Additionally, many segregation academies featured the word "Christian" in their names, a testament to not only the oft-overlapping viewpoints of fundamentalist Christians and pro-segregationists during the era, but also to the type of students the segregation academy wished to attract (Palmer 1974).

The nature in which many private schools began was often suspicious from the start. Often, virtually entire student bodies would migrate from the formerly all-white public schools to the new private schools, taking along "the trappings of the old school, its colors, its teams, its mascots, symbols, its student newspaper, leaving behind only the shell of the building" (Nevin and Bills 1976). Equipment formerly used by the all-white public school was in many cases sold by the district to the new private school at a fraction of its value, immediately providing the private school with necessities such as books, furniture, buses, or in some instances, entire buildings. Other private schools began with equipment declared surplus by the public school or district, where the legitimacy of the equipment's status as "surplus" will likely remain a mystery. The states of Alabama and Tennessee each tried multiple times to make direct tuition grants to private schools, and Mississippi aided segregation academies with state-owned textbooks to the tune of nearly 175,000 books worth almost $500,000 in 1970 (Nevin and Bills 1976). The concepts of government assistance to private schools, tax exemptions, and educational vouchers entered the political arenas during this time and are still debated today (Palmer 1974).

Formerly white public schools and state and/or local governments were not the only organizations that aided the growth of segregation academies. For private schools not fortunate enough to receive handouts or semi-covert assistance, as well as schools that did

receive such support, another powerful institution played a role in its formation: the church. Frequently local, homogeneous, stable, and controlled by its members, churches provided the perfect atmosphere in which to start a school. Churches were already the center of many families' spiritual and social lives, and turning to the church during such a tumultuous time was natural, providing refuge from a society viewed as disintegrating and immoral. Pastors held considerable influence over their congregations, who tended to trust not only the pastor's faith and views, but also his sense of business and direction. Those who desired to start a school could usually persuade church members to his side; conversely, some ministers who were hesitant or opposed to school formation were unanimously outvoted by their congregations (Nevin and Bills 1976). In extreme cases, pastors who refused to accommodate a segregated school "were dismissed outright by the congregation or suffered such personal harassment that they had to move" (Palmer 1974). Seemingly, if either side of the pulpit expressed a strong desire to start a school, a school was formed.

Churches provided physical bases in which many private schools could begin, either temporarily or permanently (Nevin and Bills 1976, Palmer 1974). Numerous Southern churches of all sizes operated Sunday School in facilities that tended to lay vacant during the week, so minimal initial construction was needed in order to start a school. Sunday School classrooms tended to be undersized and often lacking in educational amenities such as blackboards, as their initial purpose was only to be used for a few hours per week. For an elementary school setting, these modest accommodations were rather easily transitioned into classrooms. High school classrooms, however, needed further improvements to meet state building codes for schools – if such codes existed beyond general fire and sanitation requirements. If Sunday School classrooms were occupied or inadequate, high school could be taught in the sanctuary, partitioned into temporary classrooms, with "desks" that could

be clipped onto the pews (Nevin and Bills 1976). Conditions were hardly optimal for education, but certainly outclassed other schools that were founded in storefronts, private homes, or Quonset huts (Palmer 1974). One Alabama school was founded in an abandoned bowling alley (Walden and Cleveland 1971). The church was such a readily-available site for school formation that quite often, even private schools that were officially secular in operation were housed in churches (Nevin and Bills 1976).

Another advantage the church provided in school formation was in the realm of finance. A church often provided a sound financial structure with which to start a school. Of course, an addition such as a school carried with it significant monetary expense, but with an already-established consumer and financial base, schools were started hurriedly and enthusiastically. Furthermore, donations to churches and church-run schools are tax-deductible, giving church-run schools a significant added benefit. "Faith rallies" and other such fundraisers were extremely common, acting to simultaneously secure financial backing as well as stimulate excitement and publicity for the new school (Nevin and Bills 1976).

The financial benefits associated with churches, however, did not stop there. Labor to construct new buildings and/or renovate existing structures to fit educational purposes was frequently provided by members of the congregation at minimal cost, as there were often just enough carpenters, plumbers, electricians, or simple handymen to fashion suitable accommodations. For jobs that required more specialized skills that were unable to be completed by the church members themselves, the church's social network nearly ensured that someone had a business or personal connection that could help, often providing equipment and supplies at discounted cost. This grassroots type of startup characterized by adaptation, improvisation, and generally inadequate facilities tended to be

the norm. The $6 million facility built by Briarcrest High School (Memphis, TN), as well as exceptional facilities at Hammond Academy (Columbia, SC) and Northside Christian School (Charlotte, NC) were aberrations when compared to other academies opened during the era (Nevin and Bills 1976).

Despite these advantages, the process of starting a new school from scratch was in no way easy and far from a sure-fire success. Most schools started nearly instantly and achieved most of their growth at the beginning. With a few notable exceptions, enrollment for most schools tended to gradually drop from that initial zealous rush until the school became financially unviable and either closed or merged with another school in order to survive (Nevin and Bills 1976). The rise of segregation academies occurred during a time when other private and parochial schools were facing significant financial difficulties (Palmer 1974), suggesting that any private school growth – especially in a region lacking a well-established history of private education – was in contradiction to national trends, driven significantly by an outside force.

Considerable variance existed in the quality of education that segregation academies offered, the grade levels taught, and the number of students enrolled. John C. Walden and Allen D. Cleveland's "The South's New Segregation Academies" examined 140 private segregated schools in Alabama in 1971. Although Walden and Cleveland's study only included one state, they found it "highly likely that Alabama's private schools closely resemble those which dot the other Deep South states," including South Carolina. Most schools were coed day schools, with very few exceptions. Some schools offered elementary or high school but not both, others offered kindergarten through twelfth grade. Although Nevin and Bills (1976) found examples of academies with 1,500 students or more, enrollments in the schools Walden and Cleveland examined ranged from 19 to roughly 500.

One school operated grades one to twelve with an enrollment of only 23 students (Walden and Cleveland 1971).

Quality of education tended to exhibit positive correlation with the physical quality of the school facilities (Palmer 1974). Still, there were noticeable similarities in the quality of education offered among nearly all academies established in the South during the era of integration. Even in secular schools, the curriculum tended to be Bible-based, though less overtly so than the fundamentalist Christian academies. Most schools located in churches had mandatory chapel every morning. The Bible was taught as the direct word of God, and overrode any textbook at any time for any reason. Most of the curriculum revolved around the "three Rs," with English, mathematics, science, social studies, and a required class in Bible most prevalent. All subjects, specifically science and social studies, were infused with a decidedly religious perspective. Although the Darwinian theory of evolution was present in some curricula, it was taught as an erroneous theory or "false doctrine" (Nevin and Bills 1976). The literal seven-day creation narrative found in the book of Genesis was taught as fact. Academies tended to emphasize rote memorization and drill techniques geared toward scoring highly on standardized tests, leading to many academies boasting their education was of a higher quality, both morally and scholastically. However, Nevin and Bills opined that the segregation academy offered a "narrow and insular" education with a limited view of the modern world, lacking in areas such as critical thinking and problem solving, "looking backwards as we hurdle forward," attempting to perpetuate the "old attitudes, old fears, and old hatreds" of the past (Nevin and Bills 1976).

Overall, the atmosphere of a segregation academy tended to be tailored more appropriately to elementary school than high school. All but the largest and most successful academies tended to lack the well-rounded education offered by the public schools, with

most offering a "no frills" education absent of programs such as art, music, athletics, shop, drama, and/or foreign language. Even supplementary educational materials such as projectors, tape players, maps and globes were rare. Libraries varied from well-stocked and appropriate to "professional looking libraries … awaiting books" (Nevin and Bills 1976) to small, outdated, and irrelevant collections that were "more inherited than selected" (Reese 1985). The use of prepackaged teaching materials was widespread, in which students completed a workbook for a particular grade level and subject, took a standardized test, and progressed to the next grade level. Clearly lacking in excitement, one principal complained that "the kids get sick of sitting for a whole year in their cubicles doing their booklets. It's deadly" (Nevin and Bills 1976). This use of curriculum packages enabled multiple grades to be housed in the same classroom, a necessity in smaller schools (Reese 1985). Indeed, Nevin and Bills (1976) found that classrooms with multiple grade levels were common, usually with around three grades, but did note instances of grades seven to twelve being located in the same classroom.

The quality of teachers in segregation academies also varied significantly. Walden and Cleveland (1971) found that two-thirds of Alabama's academies employed one or more teachers who did not qualify for teaching certificates, and half had one or more teachers with less than a bachelor's degree. Conversely, Nevin and Bills' (1976) study commented on the overall adequate qualification of teachers, finding that the academies benefited from a national oversupply of teachers during that time, with 85 percent holding certification or eligible for certification but frequently teaching out of field. Only four percent of teachers in Nevin and Bills' study lacked degrees, while 17 percent held Master's or advanced degrees. This contrasted highly with the average qualification of the school headmaster, who was "almost without exception, the pastor of the church" (Reese 1985). In other cases, the

headmaster or principal usually held Master's degrees but were often in fields other than educational administration (Nevin and Bills 1976).

Many of the academies' teachers transferred from the public schools, much like the students. The Christian schools, and to a lesser extent secular schools, expected and sometimes required that teachers be born-again Christians, and many teachers were members of the fundamentalist churches. On average, teachers were relatively young compared to their public school counterparts, with about half under the age of thirty and two-thirds with five years' teaching experience or less. Teacher salaries were almost universally lower than the public school salary for the area, but the schools tended to have no problem finding teachers. For some, the low pay was offset by the fact that many of the teachers were married women earning a supplemental income – "They don't care about the money, their husbands are working," said one principal (Nevin and Bills 1976). The academies also tended to look for religious individuals with a passion for ministry and saw the low pay mitigated by the opportunity to do both. Reese (1985), whose study came nearly a decade later than Nevin and Bills', found that teachers at many academies earn only about half what a comparable public school teacher's salary, but act mainly as monitors while students complete their prepackaged curriculum workbooks individually.

Tuition rates in segregation academies during the mid-1970s tended to run around $750 per high school student. Using 1975 as a baseline, this represents the equivalent of about $2,165 in 2013 dollars. In Nevin and Bills' (1976) study, tuition charged by the eleven high schools surveyed ranged from $450 ($1,948) to $900 ($3,897, Bureau of Labor Statistics 2014). Most schools offered reduced tuition for multiple children from the same family, and some schools directly affiliated with a church accepted tithing as an option rather than tuition payments. Small scholarships quietly funded by wealthier individuals

often enabled nearly any interested and approved student to attend, regardless of their financial means. In practice, this enabled the academies to establish themselves as *the* school for white children in an area, preserving segregation (Nevin and Bills 1976).

The majority of the studies referenced so far have been quite dated, originating from the initial decades of the rise of segregation academies. There is very little literature concerning segregation academies after the 1970s. Old newspaper articles and an occasional alumni association website tell the stories of the schools that survived the first few years of uncertainty and experienced a brief period of stability before merging with other schools or closing outright. However, the member listing on the website for SCISA, of which most private schools in South Carolina are members, shows a multitude of private schools founded in the 1960s and 1970s still in operation today. The question of how these schools have fared since the initial (and possibly only) round of academic literature concerning segregation academies is certainly deserving of further inquiry.

The educational system, both public and private, experienced myriad changes as the 1980s dawned. The classes of students who had experienced desegregation and attended integrated schools (or segregation academies) for the first time had graduated. Public schools had begun to experience improvement. The controversy surrounding integration had quelled significantly, race had become a less emotional factor for parents and students. Teacher salaries had increased, combining with inflation to drive private school tuition higher. Private schools of any kind, not just those aimed at preserving segregation, were affected. For most segregation academies, however, this represented a turning point – quite simply, the "old segregationist appeal" was generally no longer sufficient to keep a school afloat (Egerton 1991).

John Egerton provides a narrative chronicling one such (former) segregation academy, the James H. Hammond Academy (now Hammond School) in Columbia, South Carolina, in his 1991 compilation *Shades of Gray: Dispatches from the Modern South*. Egerton visited Hammond once in 1976, a decade after its formation, and again in 1988. In 1976, Egerton found Hammond to be a bastion of brazen segregationists, flying the Confederate "Rebel" battle flag from its flagpole and refusing even to compete in sports against other private schools whose teams included black players. Hammond boasted an enrollment of 1,300 in a handsome six-building campus on a twenty-five acre site in the Columbia suburbs, despite having its tax exemption revoked by the IRS for refusing to include a pledge of nondiscrimination in its charter. The administration at Hammond believed they had "ninety percent of our parents in agreement about the race question," saying Hammond was "far better off without Negroes. … If that means we can't have the tax exemption, so be it. Eventually, that'll change. Segregation is coming back in this country. It's a more natural condition. In time, we'll be vindicated" (Egerton 1991).

Upon Egerton's visit in 1988, things had, indeed, changed. There was no Confederate flag flying proudly in front of the school – it was retired unceremoniously in 1984 and replaced with Hammond Academy's flag. Tuition had increased from $800 in 1976 (the 2013 equivalent of $3,275) to $3,780 ($7,443) in 1988 (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2014). Correspondingly, enrollment had dropped from 1,300 to around 630. A pledge and statement of nondiscrimination had been added, resulting in the restoration of the school's tax exemption by the IRS. The myriad changes that the 1980s brought to both public and private education had necessitated Hammond Academy, like other segregation academies, to make drastic changes in order to survive. In drastic juxtaposition to the statements from school officials in 1976, administrators in 1988 stated that Hammond was "working on a

different image, so different that in some ways it's almost like starting over" (Egerton 1991). Perhaps none of these symbolic or economic actions spoke more to Hammond's transition from "segregation academy" to "private school" than the enrollment of a dozen or so black students, with scholarships available for others (Egerton 1991).

The reality was, by the 1980s, that integration had become more accepted, at least to the point that many parents no longer justified paying the ever-rising tuition for private schools solely to keep their children from attending school with minorities, especially when they were already paying for public schools through tax dollars. Academies in urban areas such as Hammond in Columbia reinvented themselves as prep schools, highlighting the benefits similar to other traditional private schools: low student-teacher ratio, esteemed faculty, more parental involvement, and selective admissions that served to weed out students that might pose academic or disciplinary problems. This selective admissions process and enriched quality of education, however, directly resulted in increased tuition ($15,903 for grades 9-12 for the 2013-14 schoolyear, excluding additional fees), effectively pricing out nearly all of the working class clientele and most of the middle class as well (Egerton 1991, Hammond School 2014).

Schools like Hammond began to emulate the characteristics of other pre-segregation academy private schools in their areas. In Hammond's case, these were Cardinal Newman (Catholic) and Heathwood Hall (Episcopal) in Columbia, who were never considered segregation academies but have historically had small black enrollments (Egerton 1991). For the 2009-10 schoolyear, 100 (11.2%) of Hammond School's 798 students in grades K-12 were nonwhite, including 80 (8.9%) black students (National Center for Education Statistics 2010). In a story common among former segregation academies, especially those in urban areas, this attempt to shed their racially-charged past and reincarnate as high-

quality college preparatory schools ultimately resulted in shifts in their demographic characteristics: formerly lower-to-middle class and homogeneously white; currently middle-to-upper class, and still overwhelmingly white but with a small minority presence (Egerton 1991).

While this account helps to explain the survival and progression of some urban segregation academies, not all such schools were located in urban areas. While many of the rural academies either merged with other academies or closed altogether (Egerton 1991), schools such as Patrick Henry Academy in Estill, SC; Clarendon Hall in Summerton, SC; Jefferson Davis Academy in Blackville, SC; and Robert E. Lee Academy in Bishopville, SC; continue to operate in distinctly rural locations. The aforementioned examples are located in towns ranging from 1,000 to 4,750 residents, and in counties with populations varying from 19,220 to slightly under 35,000 in 2012. The median household income (MHI) per year in said counties also ranged from $27,755 to $35,748 in 2012, significantly below the South Carolina average of $44,623 and the national average of $53,046 (U.S. Census Bureau 2014). In rural areas such as these, a college preparatory school aimed at a middle-to-upper class clientele would simply not have the customer base to survive.

Accordingly, the yearly tuition rates (as posted on each of the four aforementioned schools' websites) are a fraction of that at schools such as Hammond. Interestingly, despite being in separate areas of the state, base annual tuition rates at all four schools were remarkably similar for the 2013-14 schoolyear, with only $300 separating the lowest-priced ($3,900) from the highest ($4,200). The similarities between the schools do not end there, as all four schools were founded in either 1965 or 1966 (SCISA 2015) during the era of integration, and exist in majority-black cities or counties (U.S. Census Bureau 2014) but featured overwhelmingly small black enrollments in 2009-10, ranging from 0.4% (one black

student out of 243 enrolled in grades 3K-12) to 1.2% (six black students out of 510, grades 3K-12; National Center for Education Statistics 2010).

While many private schools in South Carolina can trace their roots to the segregation academy movement, these schools no longer outwardly discriminate against minorities or operate on a segregated basis. The bylaws of SCISA state that member schools "admit students of any race, color, national or ethnic origin" and "do not discriminate on the basis of race, color, national and ethnic origin in the administration of their educational policies, scholarship and loan programs, and athletic and other school-administered programs" (SCISA 2015). The website of each member school in the study area likewise includes a similar statement of nondiscrimination. Even Tom Turnipseed, the former segregationist and SCISA co-founder, would later become active in the Civil Rights Movement and a lawyer, advocate, author, and speaker for racial equality and human rights.

However, very few minority students attend former segregation academies or any private schools in South Carolina. In private schools on which data is available via the National Center for Education Statistics, 43,625 students in grades PK-12 attended private schools in South Carolina in 2009-10. Of these students, 37,792 (86.6%) were white, while only 3,330 (7.6%) were black. The reasons for this are not definitively known, but some combination of the area's history of segregation, the establishment of segregation academies, and nationwide trends concerning public-private school choice are likely to help explain this situation.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF SCHOOLS AND DISTRICTS

4.1 Public School Performance

A significant number of private schools not only exist in areas with large concentrations of minorities (specifically blacks), but another commonality is that these schools also tend to be located in communities where the public schools are subpar – if not failing – or have the reputation as an underperforming school. There are myriad contributors to why schools underperform, including but certainly not limited to: lack of funding, ineffective teachers and administration, lack of support from parents and/or the community, and poverty. The reasons that schools may underperform are multifaceted, often interrelated, and are unique to each school. The intent here is not to attempt to understand why schools in the study area may be underperforming, but to examine how the presence of underperforming schools, or schools with reputations of underperformance, may affect public-private school choice in the study area.

The three-county study area is comprised of a total of five school districts: Lee County School District; Sumter School District; and Clarendon County School Districts 1, 2, and 3. Table 4.1 shows pertinent information regarding each of the seven public high schools in the study area.

Table 4.1. Public High Schools in the Study Area

District	School	City	Established	Students (2014)
Lee Co. School District	Lee Central High	Bishopville	2000	588
Clarendon Co. School District 1	Scott's Branch High	Summerton	1930s	203
Clarendon Co. School District 2	Manning High	Manning	1970	816
Clarendon Co. School District 2	Phoenix Charter High	Manning	2002	45
Clarendon Co. School District 3	East Clarendon Middle/High	Turbeville	1970	299
Sumter School District	Sumter High	Sumter	1970	2315
Sumter School District	Crestwood High	Sumter	1996	1153
Sumter School District	Lakewood High	Sumter	1996	1134

4.1.1 South Carolina High School Report Card Data

The key statistics that will be examined for each high school in the study area include: first-year HSAP (High School Assessment Program) passage rate, total HSAP passage rate, graduation rate of 4-year cohort, graduation rate of 5-year cohort (available from 2011-present), performance on state End of Course (EOC) examinations, and student dropout rate. These statistics are obtained from each school's annual school report card, provided each year by the South Carolina Department of Education. In the annual report card, key performance indicators such as those listed above are given for each school as well as for "High Schools With Students Like Ours," which compares the individual high school to other high schools "with Poverty Indices no more than 5% above or below the index for this school" (South Carolina Department of Education 2014). Of course, poverty is far from the only contributor to school underperformance - variables such as teacher/administrator effectiveness and parental/community support are not factored into the "High Schools With Students Like Ours" figures, but the report card allows simple

comparison of basic performance indicators between an individual high school and its peers within the state.

From 2005-2014, students in South Carolina were required to pass the High School Assessment Program (HSAP) in order to earn a high school diploma. The HSAP consisted of two portions, English and mathematics, and was "aligned to standards that a student would have an opportunity to learn by the second spring after the initial enrollment in the 9th grade" (Center on Education Policy 2009). As the HSAP would be initially be taken by students in the spring of their 10th grade year, the HSAP did not include any standards for "11th or 12th grade that students would not have an opportunity to learn" (Center on Education Policy 2009). Students who did not pass one or both portions of the HSAP on their first try in 10th grade would have the opportunity to take the yet-unpassed portion(s) each semester, including one summer session before their scheduled graduation year, until graduation – a total of up to six attempts (Center on Education Policy 2009).

The requirement of students to pass a standardized test in order to receive a diploma was controversial, as there were no alternate paths toward receiving a diploma, even for English-language learners (ELL) and/or students with disabilities. Students who did not pass both portions of the HSAP would instead receive a certificate of attendance rather than a diploma (Center on Education Policy 2009). Despite the high stakes, the vast majority of South Carolina students passed the HSAP – many on the first attempt, with first attempt passage rates ranging between 76.4% in 2009 to 82.0% in 2013 (South Carolina Department of Education 2014).

In the seven public high schools in the study area, there was considerable variance in student performance on the HSAP. In 2014, first attempt passage rates ranged from 56.6% at Lakewood to 77.5% at East Clarendon, with East Clarendon being the only school

in the study area to surpass the 2014 South Carolina statewide percentage of 77.4%. Three schools surpassed their "High Schools With Students Like Ours" (SLO) figure in 2014 – East Clarendon (77.5% vs. 75.2%), Scott's Branch (75% vs. 58.7%), and Lee Central (69.1% to 59.9%); while Sumter High performed the worst against its first attempt passage rate SLO figure, 57.2% to 73.2%.

The first attempt passage rate of the seven high schools in the study area averaged 67.2% in 2014, just short of an average of the schools' averaged SLO figure of 67.4%. This reflected a typical (but somewhat low) year for area schools, as the average first attempt passage rate of all schools since 2008 has ranged from 66.6% in 2012 to 72.6% in 2008. The lowest average score for an individual school since 2008 was 43.3% for Lee Central in 2012 (vs. 65.7% SLO), while the highest was 90.2% (vs. 80% SLO) for East Clarendon in 2013.

The total HSAP passage rate for schools in the study area in 2014 also varied greatly, from 66.9% at Lee Central High School to 100% at East Clarendon (South Carolina Department of Education 2014). Again, East Clarendon (100% vs. 90.7%) and Scott's Branch (89.4% vs. 78.9%) were the only schools to outperform their SLO figures for total HSAP passage rate in 2014. Lee Central (66.9% vs. 81%) fell the most short of its SLO figure.

Total HSAP passage rate among the seven high schools averaged 85.9% in 2014, again short of an 86.9% averaged SLO. This represented the lowest total HSAP passage rate for the area since 2008, with the highest being 92.4% (vs. 89.4% SLO) in 2009. This was also the only time since 2008 that the average of the area schools' total HSAP passage rate fell short of the combined SLO average for all schools. It is, however, worth noting that Lee Central's 66.9% in 2014 was by far the lowest of all seven schools in the study area since 2008, with the next lowest being 75.5% by Lee Central in 2011. Without this anomaly, the average of the remaining six area schools would have surpassed their average SLO (89% vs.

87.9%) in 2014 despite only two schools surpassing their SLO figures – the other four schools that missed their total HSAP passage rate SLO did so by 4.5% or less each. In total, this data shows that the study area contains schools that perform both favorably and poorly on the HSAP.

In addition to the HSAP, South Carolina students also take four state-mandated, state-created end of course (EOC) examinations. Three of these EOC exams are usually taken in the ninth grade (Algebra 1/Math for the Technologies 2, English 1, and Biology 1/Applied Biology 2), while one (US History and the Constitution) is usually taken in the eleventh grade. While a passing grade in each of these classes is required to receive a diploma, students do not necessarily have to pass each EOC to pass each class or to graduate. The EOC exam usually counts for 20% of a student's final grade in all four of the aforementioned classes, therefore it is possible to receive a diploma without passing each (or any) individual EOC exam (Center on Education Policy 2009, South Carolina Department of Education 2014). Nevertheless, EOCs are generally given substantial attention and preparation by teachers, and schoolwide EOC scores can offer significant insight into student, teacher, and school performance in four essential subject areas. For EOC-related data, the percentage will represent an average pass rate of all four subject EOCs combined for each school.

Like the HSAP, schools in the study area varied greatly in their performance on EOC exams in 2014. Scott's Branch led all schools in the area with an average EOC pass rate of 87.3%, significantly outperforming their SLO figure of 53.6%. East Clarendon was the only other school to outperform its SLO figure for average EOC pass rate, 83.7% to 71.4%. Lee Central performed the worst in the area, both overall (41.7%) and against its SLO (55.4%). All other schools that did not meet their SLO in 2014 did so by 11% or less.

Altogether, the area schools outperformed their combined SLO figure for average EOC pass rate in 2014, 63.7% to 63.1%. This represented the first time area schools had outperformed their SLO since 2008, and was also the best combined average for the area schools since 2008. 2014 marked a considerable improvement over the next-best combined average EOC pass rate (59.1% in 2013) as well as another year of steady improvement, as this figure has risen every year since a low of 42.9% in 2009. The 87.3% posted by Scott's Branch in 2014 was the highest combined average EOC pass rate of any area school since 2008, surpassing the 83.6% (also by Scott's Branch) in 2013. The lowest EOC pass rate of any area school since 2008 was 28% by Lee Central in 2012.

Despite mixed results on the HSAP and EOC examinations, schools in the study area have consistently fared better in one area – graduation rate. School report cards in South Carolina include graduation rate for 4-year and, since 2011, 5-year cohorts. Unlike HSAP and EOC performance, which is scored by the state, graduation rate can vary significantly between schools. Also unlike standardized test scores, which are contingent on one variable – student performance on the test – graduation rate is a more complicated statistic that does not take into account students that pursue alternate credentials, such as a GED. As graduation rate is a key performance indicator over which schools themselves have some control, graduation rate is sometimes not considered as strong an indicator of school performance as other measures.

Area schools tended to surpass their SLO figure for both 4-year and 5-year graduation rate in 2014. East Clarendon posted the best rate (87.7%, vs. 75.8% SLO) for a 4-year cohort, but somehow had the worst 5-year cohort, at 73.8% (vs. 75.5% SLO). The only other school to underperform against the 4-or-5-year graduation rates was Manning High School, with a 4-year rate of 76.5 (vs. 77.6% SLO) and a 5-year rate of 77.1% (vs. 79.1%).

Lee Central had the overall lowest 4-year graduation rate of 71.6%, but surpassed their SLO figure of 67.5%.

This continued a trend of area schools surpassing their SLO graduation rate, but represented an average overall graduation rate for the area. In 2014, this figure was 79% for a 4-year cohort, and 80% for a 5-year cohort. The highest combined graduation rate for a 4-year cohort was 81.7% in 2012; for a 5-year cohort, 84.2% in 2013. The lowest for a 4-year cohort was 77.1% in 2008; for a 5-year cohort, 78.0% in 2011. The combined graduation rates of all schools have surpassed their combined SLO figures every year since 2008 for 4-year graduation rate and since 2011 for 5-year graduation rate –the first year data was collected for a 5-year cohort. For individual schools, the highest 4-year cohort graduation rate since 2008 was East Clarendon's 87.7% in 2014; the highest for a 5-year cohort, 89.2% by East Clarendon in 2012. Lee Central had the lowest 4-year rate since 2008 with 70.7% in 2011; the lowest 5-year rate, 73.3% from East Clarendon in 2011.

Area schools have also had mixed results in keeping dropout rates low. Like graduation rate, the dropout percentage can vary significantly from school to school and year to year. Also similar to graduation rate, dropout rate is a key performance indicator over which schools have some control. Schools and districts tend to make other options available to students, such as alternative schools or homebound instruction, to prevent dropouts. Small fluctuations in dropout rate will inevitably occur, especially among smaller schools. As such, despite its seemingly-drastic implications, dropout rate (unless exceedingly high) is not consistently viewed as highly as other indicators of school performance.

Dropout rate also varied greatly among area schools in 2014. Scott's Branch posted the lowest dropout rate at 1% (vs. 1.4% SLO), with three other schools also posting dropout

rates lower than 2%, all lower than their SLO. Manning had the highest dropout rate in 2014, at 3.8% (vs. 2.3% SLO).

The total averaged dropout rate among the seven schools was 2.1% in 2014, matching the schools' averaged SLO. The lowest averaged dropout rate for all schools since 2008 was 1.8% (vs. 2.4% SLO) in 2012, while the highest was 3.6% (vs. 3.8% SLO) in 2008. For individual schools, the lowest dropout rate was from Lakewood in 2002, 0.4% (vs. 2.5% SLO), while the highest was Crestwood High School with 5.3% (vs. 4% SLO) in 2008.

4.1.2 SAT and ACT Performance

While the South Carolina school report cards provide an abundance of information regarding school performance measured against its peers within the state, this information is not easily compared to schools throughout the nation, as each state defines its own graduation requirements, such as South Carolina's EOC and HSAP tests. To compare public schools in the study area to other schools, it is necessary to consider SAT and ACT scores. Standardized tests such as the SAT and ACT are certainly not a perfect comparison of schools, and it is debatable whether comparing standardized test scores between schools is a good or fair exercise whatsoever. It has been shown that test scores may not be a good measure of school quality (Buddin et al. 1998). However, public test scores are widely available and often reported, affecting choice if families believe them to be a good measure of school performance. In any case, it is clear that test scores play at least somewhat of a role in school choice (Buddin et al. 1998) and school performance, and scores on the SAT and ACT provide simple and direct comparison between schools statewide and nationwide.

The SAT consists of three sections: critical reading, math, and writing. Each section is scored on a scale of 200 to 800, giving a composite score range of 600 to 2400, with 2400

representing a perfect score. In 2010, the average public school student in the United States scored a 498 in critical reading, 511 in math, and 488 in writing, with an average composite score of 1497. The average public school student in South Carolina underperformed against the national average in 2010, scoring a 482 in critical reading, 496 in math, and 465 in writing, with an average composite score of 1443 (South Carolina Department of Education 2010).

Table 4.2. Public School SAT Participation, 2009-10

District	School	Test Takers		2010 Seniors	
		2009	2010	Seniors	% Tested
Clarendon 1	Scott's Branch HS	11	4	81	4.9%
Clarendon 2	Manning HS	18	9	200	4.5%
Clarendon 2	Phoenix Charter HS	3	1	28	3.6%
Clarendon 3	East Clarendon M/HS	32	35	77	45.5%
Lee	Lee Central HS	57	58	164	35.4%
Sumter 2	Crestwood HS	69	70	289	24.2%
Sumter 2	Lakewood HS	75	56	273	20.5%
Sumter 17	Sumter HS	173	193	539	35.8%
Study Area	**All**	**438**	**426**	**1651**	**25.8%**

Table 4.3. Public School SAT Performance, 2009-10

School	2009 Mean Scores			2010 Mean Scores			Mean Composite Score		
	Reading	Math	Writing	Reading	Math	Writing	2009	2010	+/-
Scott's Branch HS	379	412	393	*	*	*	1184	*	n/a
Manning HS	472	482	476	483	516	483	1431	1482	+51
Phoenix Charter HS	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	n/a
East Clarendon M/HS	473	492	458	476	485	455	1422	1417	-5
Lee Central HS	374	403	404	400	397	398	1181	1194	+13
Crestwood HS	439	463	433	449	450	427	1335	1326	-9
Lakewood HS	435	433	428	443	436	426	1296	1304	+8
Sumter HS	486	485	468	486	495	461	1439	1441	+2
Study Area	**439**	**463**	**433**	**462.5**	**467.5**	**441**	**1335**	**1371.5**	**+36.5**
SC Average Public				**482**	**496**	**465**		**1443**	
US Average Public				**498**	**511**	**488**		**1497**	

SAT performance by schools in the study area varied greatly in 2010. Composite scores ranged from 1194 (Lee Central) to 1482 (Manning). Mean critical reading scores ranged from 400 (Lee Central) to 486 (Sumter), math scores from 397 (Lee Central) to 516 (Manning), and writing scores from 398 (Lee Central) to 483 (Manning). Within individual subject areas, only Sumter (486) and Manning (483) surpassed the state average of 482 in critical reading. Manning (516 math, 483 reading) was also the only school to surpass either state average in math (496) or writing (465). The only average score of any school in the study area to outperform any of the national averages in any subject area was Manning's score of 516 in math, surpassing the national average of 511 (South Carolina Department of Education 2010).

It should be noted, however, that of 200 seniors at Manning in 2010, only 9 attempted the SAT – 4.5% of Manning's senior class, representing the lowest percentage of SAT test takers of all schools in the study area. Most other schools in the study area saw roughly 20-45% of their respective senior classes take the SAT, therefore it can be inferred that if a higher percentage of seniors attempted the test, these scores would likely be lower. Indeed, Manning had 18 students take the SAT in 2009, and although this still represented a small percentage of Manning seniors, the average composite score was 1431 – 52 points lower than 2010 (South Carolina Department of Education 2010).

In total, 25.8% of seniors within all public schools in the study area took the SAT in 2010. The median score of the schools' averages were a 462.5 in critical reading, 467.5 in math, and 441 in writing, for a median composite score of 1371.5. This represented an improvement over 2009, when the median score of the schools' averages was a 439 in critical reading, 463 in math, and 433 in writing, for a median composite score of 1335 (South Carolina Department of Education 2010). As a whole, however, the study area lagged

far behind the national and state averages in all three subject areas as well as composite score.

The ACT consists of four sections: English, math, reading, and science. Each subject is scored on a scale of 1 to 36. The four individual subject sections are then averaged to create a composite score, again on a scale of 1 to 36, with 36 representing a perfect score. In 2010, 47% of American high school graduates took the ACT. The average score, nationwide, was a 21.0 composite; 20.5 English, 21.0 math, 21.3 reading, and 20.9 science. In South Carolina, 52% of high school graduates took the ACT in 2010, with the average subject and composite scores falling below the national average; 20.0 composite, 19.2 English, 20.1 math, 20.0 reading, and 20.0 science. Compared to other states and the District of Columbia, South Carolina ranked 44th of 51 in average composite ACT score in 2010 (ACT, Inc. 2015).

Table 4.4. Public School ACT Participation and Performance, 2010

School	Test Takers	# Seniors	% Tested	Eng.	Math	Read.	Sci.	Comp. Score
Scott's Branch HS	37	81	45.7%	12.7	16.2	14.6	16.4	15.1
Manning HS	116	200	58.0%	16.9	18.0	18.0	19.0	18.1
Phoenix Charter HS	6	28	21.4%	10.8	15.8	12.7	16.8	14.2
E. Clarendon M/HS	17	77	22.1%	15.4	18.2	18.0	19.1	17.7
Lee Central HS	75	164	45.7%	14.0	16.0	15.6	16.7	15.7
Crestwood HS	131	289	45.3%	15.8	17.3	17.1	17.7	17.1
Lakewood HS	128	273	46.9%	16.4	16.9	17.3	17.9	17.3
Sumter HS	277	539	51.4%	17.3	18.3	18.4	18.8	18.4
Study Area	**787**	**1651**	**47.7%**	**15.6**	**17.1**	**17.2**	**17.8**	**17.2**
SC Average			**52.0%**	**19.2**	**20.1**	**20.0**	**20.0**	**20.0**
US Average			**47.0%**	**20.5**	**21.0**	**21.3**	**20.9**	**21.0**

Performance on the ACT by study area schools also varied greatly in 2010. Composite scores ranging from 15.1 (Scott's Branch) to 18.4 (Sumter). Mean scores in English ranged from 12.7 (Scott's Branch) to 17.3 (Sumter), math from 16.0 (Lee Central) to

18.3 (Sumter), reading from 14.6 (Scott's Branch) to 18.4 (Sumter), and science from 16.4 (Scott's Branch) to 19.1 (East Clarendon). No school in the study area surpassed the average South Carolina composite score or the average score in any of the subject areas (South Carolina Department of Education 2010).

Schools in the study area showed significantly higher participation for the ACT versus the SAT, as 47.7% of all 2010 graduates within the study area took the ACT. This larger sample size offers a more comprehensive representation of area schools' performance on national standardized tests. While SAT participation from area seniors tended to be between 20-35% (with two schools, Scott's Branch and Manning, under 5%), ACT participation was higher, usually around 50%. The median score from all study area schools' averages in 2010 was; 17.2 composite, 15.6 English, 17.1 math, 17.2 reading, and 17.8 science (South Carolina Department of Education 2010).

4.2 Private School Performance

Unlike public schools, who are controlled by a state agency with data freely available on the South Carolina Department of Education website, private schools are under no such central authority. Only basic data, such as enrollment statistics, is kept for private schools by the South Carolina Department of Education. Most private schools in the study area are members of SCISA, but SCISA features little statistical information on its website and declined requests for further information regarding test scores. Other private schools are members of smaller accreditation agencies or operate independently, on which even less information is available. This lack of transparency seems to evoke the attitude present during the founding of the segregation academies and their "philosophical imperative that leads them to resist the collection of data" (Nevin and Bills 1976). In any case, data

regarding private school performance is scarce, leaving little opportunity for direct public-to-private comparison.

However, some individual schools (Laurence Manning Academy and Wilson Hall) responded favorably to requests for further information, including test scores. The following information was compiled from individual schools' self-reported SCISA Annual Report, in addition to self-reported data from e-mail correspondence or on schools' individual websites. SCISA does not use the writing portion of the SAT for statistical purposes, only the critical reading and math portions, thus using scores based on a 1600 point scale instead of a 2400 point scale used by most organizations. Furthermore, SCISA offers two levels of accreditation for high schools: regular and advanced. Among the standards for advanced accreditation include the requirement that the top 25% of students must score over an 1100 on the SAT or equivalent. Schools in the study area that held SCISA advanced accreditation in 2015 included Clarendon Hall, Laurence Manning Academy, Robert E. Lee Academy, St. Francis Xavier High School, and Thomas Sumter Academy (SCISA 2015).

As SCISA uses the 1600 point scale for SAT scores, it is necessary to convert these scores to the 2400 point scale for more direct comparison. In this case, the 1600 scale SAT scores from private schools has been converted to an approximate score on the 2400 scale, using concordance tables and percentile rankings from the College Board (College Board 2015).

Table 4.5. Private School SAT Performance, 2009-10 and 2013-14

	2009-10				2013-14			
	Raw Score		*Converted*		Raw Score		*Converted*	
	Top 25%	Total	*Top 25%*	*Total*	Top 25%	Total	*Top 25%*	*Total*
Laurence Manning Acad.	1140	1050	*(1680)*	*(1555)*	1160	1055	*(1710)*	*(1555)*
Thomas Sumter Acad.	—	—	—	—	1400[1]	1216[1]	*(2080)*[1]	*(1790)*[1]
Wilson Hall	—	1163	—	*(1710)*	—	1191		*(1760)*

— Data unavailable

[1] Data from 2004-15 schoolyear

Overall, SAT scores at private schools were significantly higher than public schools. Thomas Sumter Academy reported in 2014-15 a total average score of 1216 on the 1600 point scale, the equivalent of approximately a 1790 on the 2400 point scale. Laurence Manning Academy, the private school with the lowest average SAT score in 2009-10 (1555), was 73 points higher than Manning High School, the public school with the highest average scores (1482) in the same year. However, as data was only available from three schools, this is in no way a comprehensive review of SAT performance in area private schools. Furthermore, all test score data displayed for private schools is self-reported, so this information may not be as reliable as independently-reported data.

4.3 Additional Performance-Related Factors

It is clear that test scores are only one of many performance indicators that factor into school choice. Other statistics can also help to explain the performance (or underperformance) of public schools, contributing to how these schools are perceived, as well as providing insight as to why families may opt to choose private school. These statistics include: student-teacher ratio, percent eligible for free and/or reduced lunch,

percentage of high school completers entering junior and/or senior colleges, teacher turnover rate, salary for beginning teachers, wealth (fiscal capacity) per pupil, and operating expenditures per pupil. Also included is a table showing tuition and fees associated with private school attendance in the study area.

Student-teacher ratio is a quantifiable statistic that is usually seen as beneficial, as a lower student-teacher ratio tends to suggest that classes are smaller, more individualized instruction is present, and that, generally, the education is assumed to be of higher quality. It should be noted that "student-teacher ratio" and "class size" are two different, although correlated, statistics. Student-teacher ratio includes all FTE (full-time equivalent) staff such as counselors and administrators, thus the student-teacher ratio is much lower than class size. It can safely be assumed that a high or low student-teacher ratio can suggest large or small class size, but the two statistics are different.

Table 4.6. Student-Teacher Ratio in Area Schools, 2009-10

School	Students	FTE Teachers	S-T Ratio
Sumter Academy	20	4	5
St. Francis Xavier HS	38	6.5	5.85
Clarendon Hall	223	22.4	9.96
Thomas Sumter Academy	416	35.4	11.75
Wilson Hall	798	63.8	12.51
Robert E. Lee Academy	516	37.8	13.65
William Thomas Academy	45	3	15
East Clarendon M/HS	631	41	15.39
Scott's Branch HS	278	18	15.44
Sumter HS	2403	136.8	17.57
Laurence Manning Academy	916	47	19.4
Lee Central HS	685	33	20.76
Crestwood HS	1310	61	21.48
Lakewood HS	1235	55	22.45
Manning HS	911	30	30.37

As a whole, private schools in the study area tend to have lower student-teacher ratios than public schools. Student-teacher ratio in 2009-10 at public school varied from a low of 15.39 at East Clarendon to 30.37 at Manning. The two public schools with the lowest student populations, East Clarendon and Scott's Branch, did have the two lowest and near-identical student-teacher ratios. However, there was no correlation between school size and student-teacher ratio. Sumter High, the largest school in the study area, also had a comparatively-low student-teacher ratio; and Manning, a medium-sized school, had the highest (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

Student-teacher ratio at private schools ranged from a low of 5.0 at Sumter Academy to 19.4 at Laurence Manning Academy. In the case of private schools, student-teacher ratio tended to have a direct correlation with school size. Sumter Academy, the smallest private school in the study area, had the lowest student-teacher ratio; and Laurence Manning, the largest private school in the state, had the highest student-teacher ratio in the study area. The only significant outlier was the 45-student, 3-teacher William Thomas Academy, with a student-teacher ratio of 15 (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

The following data concerning: percent eligible for free and/or reduced lunch, percentage of high school completers entering junior and/or senior colleges, wealth (fiscal capacity) per pupil, and operating expenditures per pupil, comes from the South Carolina Department of Education's Rankings Book, of which the most recent edition online contains data from the 2007-08 schoolyear. The Rankings Book provides this data for all then-85 school districts in the state, the state average, and district median.

Table 4.7. Percent Eligible for Free or Reduced Lunch in Public Schools, 2007-08

District	# Eligible	# Pupils	% Eligible	Rank
Clarendon 1	922	990	93.1%	1
Lee	2208	2592	85.2%	11
Sumter 2	6555	9295	70.5%	24
Sumter 17	5626	8888	63.3%	35
Clarendon 2	2039	3248	62.8%	36
Clarendon 3	700	1303	53.7%	58
State Total	**382614**	**723330**	**52.9%**	
Statewide District Median			**61.4%**	

In total, all districts in the study area were above the state total of 52.9% eligible for free and/or reduced lunch in 2007-08, and all but Clarendon School District 3 were above the median of all 85 districts in South Carolina. Clarendon School District 1 also had the highest number of eligible students. This not only provides evidence that districts within the study are among the poorest in the state, but also implies that many families who can afford to send their children to private school tend to do so, leaving public schools populated by students of low socioeconomic status.

Table 4.8. Percent of Public High School Completers Entering Junior or Senior Colleges, 2007

District	# Completers	# College Accepted	% College Accepted	Rank
Sumter 17	502	383	76.3%	10
Lee	135	87	64.4%	29
Clarendon 2	196	106	54.1%	58
Clarendon 1	72	36	50%	66
Clarendon 3	76	36	47.4%	71
Sumter 2	583	266	45.6%	74
State Total	**40018**	**26295**	**65.7%**	
Statewide District Median			**57.9%**	

Districts in the study area tended to be below both the state total of 65.7% and the district median of 57.9% in the percentage of high school completers entering college. Only Sumter School District 17, at 76.3%, was above the state total; and Lee County School District, at 64.4%, was the only other school above the district median. This statistic has a wide array of implications on the study area, ranging from subpar student performance, to inferior teacher quality, to lack of student interest and/or possible disillusionment in pursuing higher education.

Table 4.9. Public School Teacher Turnover Rate, 5-Year Average, 2006-2010

District	Turnover %	Rank
Lee	24.8%	4
Clarendon 1	23.5%	6
Sumter 2	13.9%	25
Sumter 17	12.4%	34
Clarendon 2	9.0%	67
Clarendon 3	7.0%	84
State Total	**9.6%**	
Statewide District Median	**11.4%**	

All districts in the study area except Clarendon School Districts 3 (7.0%) and 2 (9.0%) were above the state totals (9.6%) and district median (11.4%) in a 5-year averaged measure of teacher turnover rate. A high teacher turnover rate suggests that teachers are unhappy in the district, leaving the district or teaching professional altogether. Teachers leave schools every year for many different reasons, but an exceedingly high teacher turnover rate can have many negative implications on school and student achievement. It has been shown that students of low SES, underperforming students, and students of color have a much higher possibility than other students of having inexperienced, uncertified, or underperforming teachers. Teacher turnover rates are a key indicator of school health, as

keeping high quality teachers is essential to all schools, especially underperforming ones (Guin 2004).

Table 4.10. Beginning Teacher Salary by Public School District, 2007-08 and 2013-14

District	2007-08	Rank	2013-14	Rank
Sumter 2	$29,262	65	$30,999	65
Sumter 17	$29,262	65		
Clarendon 1	$28,894	71	$30,548	71
Clarendon 2	$28,844	73	$31,109	60
Lee	$28,705	77	$30,409	75
Clarendon 3	$28,069	81	$29,723	79
State Minimum	**$27,869**		**$29,523**	
Statewide District Median	**$30,549**		**$32,217.50**	

Every district in the study area ranked below the statewide district median beginning teacher salary in 2007-08 and 2013-14, and all ranked in the bottom third of all districts in the state. Sumter Districts 2 and 17 had the highest in 2007-08 ($29,262), versus a statewide district median of $30,549, and had the 65th highest of 85 districts in the state. By 2013-14, Clarendon School District 2 had surpassed Sumter for the highest beginning teacher salary in the study area ($31,109), but was still below the statewide district median of $32,217.50. This figure represents the lowest amount on the salary scale for teachers in each district – a teacher with 0 years' experience and a bachelor's degree. Teacher salary generally increases with each year of experience and/or attainment of advanced degrees, however, beginning teacher salary is a good indicator of overall teacher pay in each district. Low teacher salaries may suggest that districts are underfunded and cannot afford to consistently attract high quality teachers. Teacher salary undoubtedly has implications on other statistics such as teacher turnover rate, but in the study area, there was little

correlation between the two. Clarendon District 3 had the lowest teacher salary in both years, but had the lowest teacher turnover rate.

Table 4.11. Wealth (Fiscal Capacity) Per Pupil by Public School District, 2007-08

District	Fiscal Capacity	ADM (PK-12)	$ Per Pupil	Rank
Clarendon 1	$30,952,021	975	$31,746	14
Sumter 17	$144,535,936	8,669	$16,673	49
Clarendon 2	$49,311,950	3,192	$15,449	56
Sumter 2	$132,586,496	8,965	$14,789	63
Lee	$34,824,637	2,548	$13,667	70
Clarendon 3	$8,580,710	1,295	$6,626	85
State Total	$20,032,313,272	707,376	**$28,319**	
Statewide District Median			**$18,566**	

Fiscal capacity is defined as "a measure of the ability of communities to finance education services" through "both income and the components of the property tax base" (Ladd 1975). All districts except Clarendon School District 1 ranked below the state total and district median in fiscal capacity per pupil in 2007-08. Fiscal capacity per pupil is derived from the total fiscal capacity of the district divided by the average daily membership (ADM) of all students attending school in the district. A high or low fiscal capacity can imply that certain districts may be underfunded, and most districts in the study area tended to rank in the bottom half or third statewide. Problems in underperforming schools are not miraculously solved by funding increases, but adequate funding is essential to the long-term health of a school. However, districts such as Clarendon School District 3, which had the lowest fiscal capacity per pupil ranking in the state, consistently performs above expectations.

Table 4.12. Operating Expenditures Per Pupil by Public School District, 2007-08

District	$ Per Pupil	Rank
Clarendon 1	$11,668	8
Lee	$10,129	19
Clarendon 2	$8,852	56
Sumter 17	$8,761	61
Sumter 2	$8,206	75
Clarendon 3	$7,933	79
State Total	**$9,184**	
District Median	**$9,234**	

Clarendon School District 1 ($11,668) and Lee County School District ($10,129) were the only districts in the study area to exceed the state total ($9,184) and statewide district median ($9,234) in operating expenditures per pupil in 2007-08. Operating expenditures per pupil is a statistic that measures the actual dollar amount spent by a district per pupil. Apart from Clarendon School District 1 and Lee County School District, who had both recently constructed new high schools, most districts in the study area ranked in the bottom third in this measure in 2007-08.

Table 4.13. Tuition and Fees for Private Schools in the Study Area, 2013-14

	Base Tuition for One High School Student		Fees			
School	**Yearly**	**Monthly**	**Registration Fee**	**Other Fees**	**Total**	**Multiple Student Discount**
Laurence Manning Academy	$3,060.00	$255.00	$150.00	$820.00	$4,030.00	Yes (3+)
Robert E. Lee Academy	$3,900.00	$325.00	$150.00	$100.00	$4,150.00	Yes (2+)
St. Francis Xavier HS	$4,975.00	N/A	$500.00	$0	$5,475.00	No
Clarendon Hall	$3,995.00	$332.92	$175.00	$125.00	$4,295.00	Yes (2+)
Sumter Christian	$3,993.00	$363.00	$325.00	$255.00	$4,573.00	Yes (2+)
Thomas Sumter Academy	$5,465.00	$493.00	$200.00	$360.00	$6,025.00	No
William Thomas Academy	$3,500.00	$350.00	$300.00	$0	$3,800.00	No
Wilson Hall	$6,370.00	$585.00	$150.00	$400.00	$6,920.00	No
Mean	**$4,407.25**	**$ 337.99**	**$243.75**	**$257.50**	**$4,908.50**	
Median	**$3,994.00**	**$ 341.46**	**$187.50**	**$190.00**	**$4,434.00**	

On average, the total median cost of private school tuition for one high school student in the study area for the 2013-14 schoolyear was $4,434. This figure accounts for the yearly base tuition, registration fee, and other miscellaneous fees that vary by school, but included book fees, technology fees, lab fees, building fees, and transportation/bus fees. Transportation fees were only required if the student rode school-provided transportation, which Laurence Manning Academy, Robert E. Lee Academy, Clarendon Hall, and Thomas Sumter Academy provided. Some schools offered a discount for multiple students from the same family, increasing incrementally with the number of students. Wilson Hall had the highest total cost of attendance in the study area at $6,920 per student, while William Thomas Academy had the lowest, at $3,800 per student. Total cost of attendance per year for most private schools in the study area tended to range from $4,000 to $4,500.

4.4 Analysis of School Choice by Public School District

Students are, with some exceptions such as magnet or charter schools, assigned to a particular public high school based on their place of residence. In the study area, there are no magnet schools and only one small charter school, which focuses on special education. As a result, the racial and ethnic profile of each public high school should, theoretically, at least loosely mirror that of the surrounding community – specifically that of the high school-aged (14-18) population. Using the 2010 U.S. Census, data has been compiled showing the racial demographic composition of residents aged 14-18 in each school district in the study area. By comparing this data to the actual racial composition of each high school, any disparity between the two can be seen. Figure 4.1. shows the school districts, attendance zones, and locations of schools within the study area.

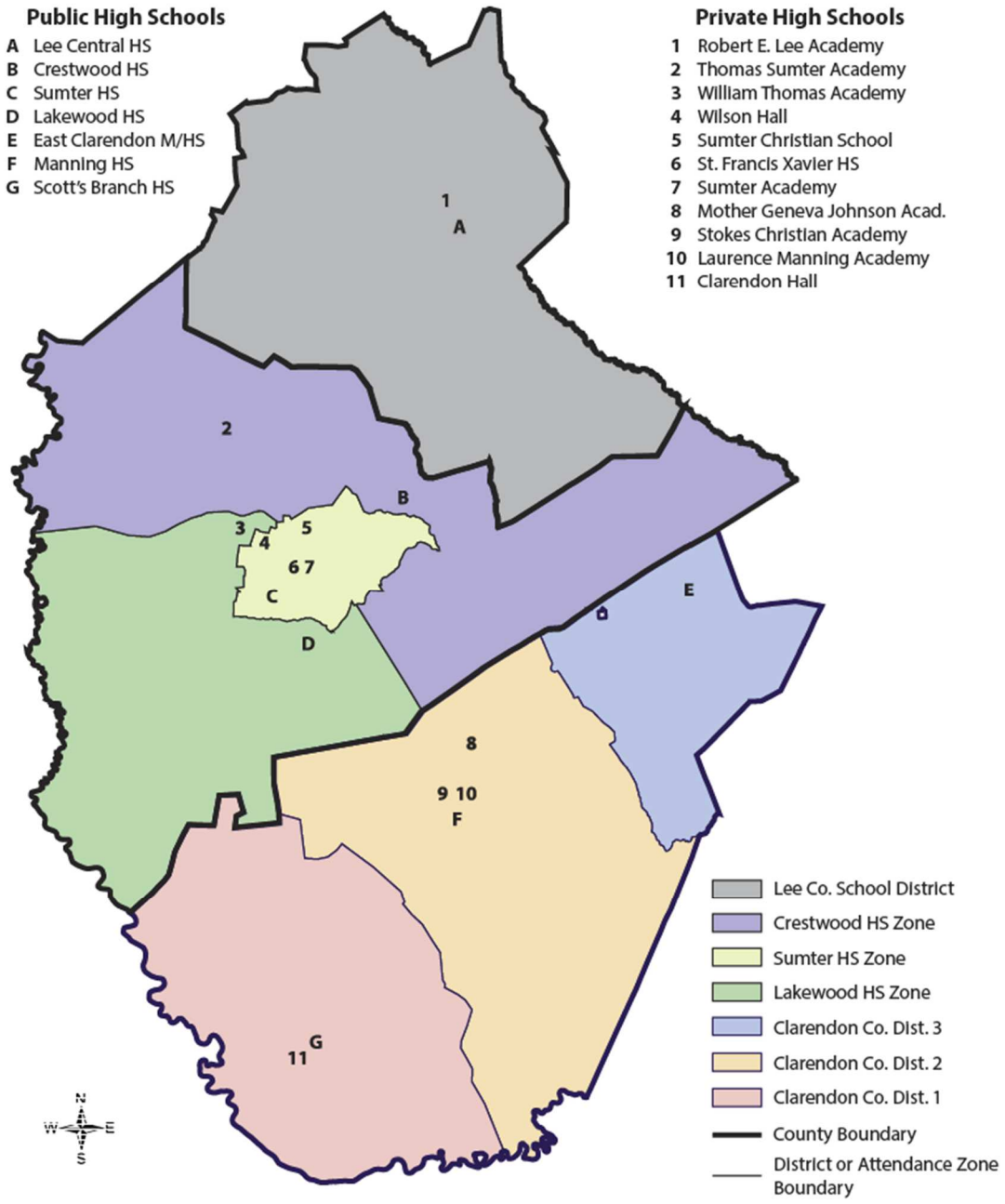
The high school-aged population is considered for this study to be ages 14-18, as students typically begin high school in the year of their 14th birthday and graduate in the year of their 18th birthday. For a multitude of reasons, students older than 18 may still attend high school, including but not limited to: a birthday later than September 1, repeating one or more grades, or dropping out and returning. South Carolina state law declares that students "may enter kindergarten in the public schools of this State if they will attain the age of five on or before September 1st of the applicable school year," thus students with post-September 1st birthdays may turn 19 during their graduation year. Furthermore, students are eligible to attend South Carolina public schools until the age of 21, but may drop out at age 17 (South Carolina Department of Education 2015). Due to the complexity of determining which residents aged 17 to 21 in each school district may or may not still be enrolled in school, this study will use the typical high school ages of 14 to 18.

Three sets of data will be used to assess school choice in each county, all categorized by their racial demographic composition: the aforementioned high school-aged (14-18) population of school districts in each county, the enrollment in each public high school in the corresponding school district, and the enrollment in each private school within the corresponding county. The enrollment of the public high school(s) in each district will be subtracted from the total high school-aged population, leaving a remainder. This remainder that is unenrolled in public school could: attend private school, be homeschooled, have already graduated, or have dropped out of school altogether.

Since students are assigned to public high schools based on their residence, it is assumed that pupils in each public high school are residents of the corresponding school district. Private schools, however, have no such geographical assignment. As such, it can be assumed that small numbers of private school attendees may not attend schools in their

county or district of residence – but also that each private school is likely to have small numbers of students attending from neighboring counties or districts. As the study area lies between to larger metropolitan areas, Florence and Columbia, it is also likely that small numbers of students also attend private school outside of the study area altogether.

Figure 4.1. Study Area School Locations and Public School District Boundaries



4.4.1 Lee County

Lee County School District (LCSD) is the only school district in Lee County, and operates one public high school, Lee Central High School, located in Bishopville. LCSD obtained unitary status in 2001, freeing the district from the federal court desegregation orders it had been under since 1969 (USCCR 2008).

Lee Central High School began operation in 2000 after LCSD consolidated its two high schools, Mount Pleasant High School and Bishopville High School. The largest private high school in Lee County, Robert E. Lee Academy, was founded in Bishopville in 1966. Robert E. Lee Academy is accredited by the South Carolina Independent School Association (SCISA). Robert E. Lee fits the typical profile of a segregation academy – it was founded during the era of integration, initially prohibited black students, and has a non-denominational Christian affiliation. There is also at least one small private Christian academy, NewSong Christian School.

The population of Lee County was approximately 73% black/26% white from 1990 to 2000 (U.S. Census 1990, 2000), however, both Mount Pleasant and Bishopville High Schools had disproportionate numbers of black students compared to white students. During the 1989-90 schoolyear, Bishopville High School's student population was 22.5% white (195 white students of 866 total), roughly echoing the racial demographic makeup of the county. However, by 1994-95, this figure had dropped to 16.8% white (117 white students of 695 total), and further to 8.2% white (47 white students of 526 total) by 1999-2000. Mount Pleasant High School's student population was even more predominantly black: 0.3% white (1 white student of 339 total) in 1989-90, and 1.4% white (5 white students of 348 total) in 1999-2000 (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

The consolidation of the two schools into Lee Central High School only exacerbated this racial disparity. While the public schools were certainly not reflective of the county's racial demographic composition before, as Bishopville High and Mount Pleasant High combined to be 83.7% black/16.3% white in 1989-90 and 94.4% black/5.6% white in 1999-2000, the coming decade saw even more white students flee Lee County public schools (National Center for Education Statistics 2015). This decrease in white students at public high schools was not due to migration, as Lee County's white population had a nominal increase (6,580 to 7,048) from 1990 to 2000 (U.S. Census 2000) – clearly illustrating that Lee County's white student population were not attending public schools.

In 2010, the high school-aged (14-18) population of the Lee County School District (covering the entirety of Lee County and therefore zoned to Lee Central High School) totaled 1,293; 23.7% white, 73.6% black, and 2.7% of other races (American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian, Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, Other, and Two or More Races; U.S. Census 2010). The student population attending Lee Central High School in 2009-10 totaled 685 students; of which 96.4% (660) were black, 2.0% (14) white, and 1.6% (11) of other races (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

The student population of Robert E. Lee Academy is, racially, the inverse. Of the 516 students attending in grades PK-12 during the 2009-10 schoolyear, 98.8% (510) were white, 1.2% (6) were black, with no other races represented. These figures make Robert E. Lee Academy tied for the most racially segregated school in the study area in 2009-10. Data by race per grade for private schools is not available through the National Center for Education Statistics, however, a total of 171 students at Robert E. Lee were enrolled in grades 9-12 in 2009-10 (National Center for Education Statistics 2015). An estimate, made by calculating the percentage of students *pro rata* by race for the school over the 171

students enrolled in grades 9-12, yields approximately 169 white and 2 black students enrolled at Robert E. Lee in high school grades for the 2009-10 schoolyear.

Just as Lee County public schools have been predominantly black in recent decades, Robert E. Lee Academy has been overwhelmingly white. Racial demographic data for private schools from the National Center of Education Statistics is available back to 1997-98, at which time Robert E. Lee Academy's 636 students (PK-12) were 100% white. A handful of students identified as American Indian/Alaska Native and Asian/Pacific Islander appear starting in 1999-2000, but the first verified black students at Robert E. Lee Academy do not appear until 2007-08 (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

NewSong Christian School is a small, private Christian school located approximately 10 miles southwest of Bishopville. Data is scarcely found for this school, as the school has no website (only a Facebook page) and does not report to the National Center for Education Statistics or the South Carolina Department of Education. NewSong Christian School is, however, accredited by the Grace Association of Private Schools, an agency that primarily provides organization and materials for homeschooled students. Grace Association of Private Schools is headquartered in Florence, South Carolina, and lists on its website approximately a dozen member schools, located statewide (Grace Association of Private Schools 2015).

NewSong Christian School likely shares many commonalities with the types of small private schools that opened abruptly, in whatever building was available, during the height of the segregation academy movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Per the school's Facebook page, it appears to operate in a mobile home located on a dirt road, essentially a place for roughly a dozen quasi-homeschooled students to attend a school-like atmosphere. Devoid of an official Web presence and severely lacking in data, if this type of school can operate in

the present day, it is nearly impossible to determine how many other operations similar to NewSong have come and gone in the study area over the past half-century.

After subtracting the students enrolled in Lee Central and Robert E. Lee from the total number of high school-aged residents of LCSD in 2009-10, a remainder of 437 individuals are left unaccounted for – 33.7% of the high school-aged population in Lee County (see Table 4.14). The racial demographic composition of this remainder (28.1% white, 66.4% black, 5.5% other) is approximately parallel to that of the district as a whole, indicating that proportional numbers of both black and white students are, for whatever reason, not enrolled in any school within Lee County. These remaining residents of high school age may have already graduated from high school, be homeschooled, have dropped out, or could be attending private school outside of Lee County. Home school enrollment for 2009-10 in Lee County is unknown, as the South Carolina Department of Education did not keep data for homeschooled students that year. However, data from recent years shows that a total of 8 students in 2012-13 and 2 students in 2013-14 in grades 9-12 were homeschooled in Lee County (South Carolina Department of Education 2015). As it is unknown how many students attend NewSong Christian School, it is not included. Five-year (2006-2010) estimates from the American Community Survey projected a total of 181 students that resided within LCSD attended private school in grades 9-12 in 2010. However, as these estimates have a very large margin of error (±104), this data is not as reliable (U.S. Census Bureau 2010).

Table 4.14. Public-Private School Choice in Lee County School District, 2010

Geography	Year	White	Black	All Other	Total	% White	% Black	% Other	Total
LCSD	**2010**	**306**	**952**	**35**	**1293**	**23.7%**	**73.6%**	**2.7%**	**100.0%**
Lee Central HS	2009-10	14	660	11	685	2.0%	96.4%	1.6%	100.0%
Robert E. Lee Academy	2009-10	*(169.0)*	*(2.0)*	*(0.0)*	171	98.8%	1.2%	0.0%	100.0%
Remainder	2010	*(123.0)*	*(290.0)*	*(24.0)*	437	28.1%	66.4%	5.5%	100.0%

Note: Figures in parentheses are estimated.

Table 4.15. Lee County School Enrollments for Selected Years, 1966-2013

	Pre-Integration				Post-Integration										
School	1966-67	67-68	68-69	69-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	75-76	80-81	85-86	89-90	95-96	1999-2000	05-06	12-13
Robert E. Lee Academy	—	135[1]	135[1]	151[1]	*	700[1]	510[1]	719[1]	552[1]	407[1]	395[1]	621	177	204	120
Ashwood-Central HS	140	149	148	159	371	267	525	554	430	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bishopville HS	438	504	521	530	624	435	388	656	451	975	975	704	659	—	—
Dennis HS	803	804	786	748	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mt. Pleasant HS	467	503	449	471	452	460	496	448	450	442	395	473	342	—	—
Lee Central HS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	762	590

* data not available
— school not in operation
[1] enrollment for entire school (K-8, 1967-1971; K-12, 1971-1990)
Bold indicates private school
Italics indicate schools for white students prior to integration
Underline indicates schools for black students prior to integration

It is abundantly clear that high schools in Lee County not only remain *de facto* segregated, but to an extreme degree. Enrollment data in Table 4.15 indicates that after schools were integrated in 1970, large numbers of white students left the public school system (presumably to enroll in Robert E. Lee Academy or another private school) and few have returned. Potential causes for this continued separation today include, and are likely to be a combination of: the area's highly segregated history, the presence of a public school with low ratings and test scores that is perceived to be (or is) underperforming, and economic stagnation and decline within the county. Minorities, unsurprisingly, also may be reluctant in their desire to attend a school named after a Confederate general. Lee Central High School and Robert E. Lee Academy are located within reasonably close proximity (a seven-minute drive), so it is unlikely that transportation plays a large role in choosing between the two. In any case, the blatant reality is that very few minority students attend Robert E. Lee Academy, while the majority of Lee County's high school-aged white population chooses to – with the reverse holding true for Lee Central High School.

4.4.2 Clarendon School District 1

Three public school districts are located in Clarendon County, each with one high school. Clarendon School District 1 (CSD1) operates Scott's Branch High School, located in Summerton, the location of the *Briggs* lawsuit. CSD1 is one of 15 South Carolina districts to remain under federal court order for desegregation, of which it has been subject since 1962. The district is not actively pursuing the release of this court order, as according to the superintendent, "today the district is 99% African-American and is obviously not segregated, and so the district does not see the point of petitioning the courts (for unitary status)" (USCCR 2008).

As the only high school in the district, all residents of CSD1 are zoned to Scott's Branch High School. Scott's Branch has existed since at least the 1930s, originally an all-black school during the era of segregation. Shortly after integration, the formerly all-white Summerton High School closed, leaving Scott's Branch as the sole public high school in the district. This is a rarity among schools during integration; as when schools were merged, it was usually the formerly-white school that kept its name, colors, and/or mascot. In this case, Scott's Branch is the only formerly-black high school in the study area that remains in operation today.

Clarendon Hall, a private school, is also located in Summerton. Originally Summerton Baptist Church School, Clarendon Hall was founded in 1965 by Summerton Baptist Church and is accredited by SCISA. Clarendon Hall fits the typical profile of a segregation academy, as it was founded during the era of integration, was initially segregationist (the first black student attended in 2000), and has a non-denominational Christian affiliation.

The racial demographic composition of Clarendon County as a whole has changed significantly since 1950 – what was once a 70% black majority county is now nearly half-white, half-black. However, the southeastern third of Clarendon County, which comprises CSD1, retains Clarendon's majority-black heritage.

As recently as the 1989-90 schoolyear, Scott's Branch High School's student population was 100% black. In the ensuing years, Scott's Branch has seen extremely small numbers of white students enroll, peaking at 9.2% (36 white students of 392 total) in 2001-02. However, this small increase was short-lived, as black enrollment has since consistently stayed above 96% (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

The student population of Clarendon Hall, however, has historically been the inverse. Clarendon Hall had a 98.3% white enrollment in 1997-98 (281 white students, 5 Asian/Pacific Islander), but the first black student did not attend Clarendon Hall until 2000. Since then, the largest black enrollment peaked at only 3% (7 black students of 236 total) in 2007-08. Clarendon Hall has seen small increases in its nonwhite enrollment: 5.5% in 2005-06 (12 Asian/Pacific Islanders and 2 black students of 256 total); and 6.8% in 2007-08 (7 black students and 9 Hispanics of 236 total; National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

In 2010, the high school-aged population residing in CSD1 totaled 531; and was 74.6% black, 22.0% white, and 3.4% from other races (U.S. Census 2010). During the 2009-10 schoolyear, 277 students attended Scott's Branch; 96.0% (266) were black, 2.5% (7) white, and 1.4% (4) were from other races (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

In the same year, 223 students attended Clarendon Hall; 94.6% (211) were white, 0.9% (2) were black, and 4.5% (10) were from other races. Again, data by race per grade is not available for private schools through the National Center for Education Statistics. The *pro rata* calculation of Clarendon Hall's 79 students in grades 9-12 by the total racial demographic composition of the school yields an estimated 75 white, 1 black, and 3 students of other races in Clarendon Hall's high school grades for the 2009-10 schoolyear (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

Table 4.16. Public-Private School Choice in Clarendon School District 1, 2010

Geography	Year	White	Black	All Other	Total	% White	% Black	% Other	Total %
Clarendon School District 1	**2010**	**117**	**396**	**18**	**531**	**22.0%**	**74.6%**	**3.4%**	**100.0%**
Scott's Branch HS	2009-10	7	266	4	277	2.5%	96.0%	1.4%	100.0%
Clarendon Hall	2009-10	*(74.7)*	*(0.7)*	*(3.5)*	79	94.6%	0.9%	4.5%	100.0%
Remainder	2010	35	129	10	175	20.1%	73.9%	6.0%	100.0%

Note: Figures in parentheses are estimated.

Table 4.17. Clarendon School District 1 Area School Enrollments for Selected Years, 1966-2013

	Pre-Integration				**Post-Integration**										
School	**1966-67**	**67-68**	**68-69**	**69-70**	**70-71**	**71-72**	**72-73**	**75-76**	**80-81**	**85-86**	**89-90**	**95-96**	**1999-2000**	**05-06**	**12-13**
Clarendon Hall	115[1]	110[1]	96[1]	127[1]	*	434[1]	408[1]	403[1]	273[1]	270[1]	199[1]	265[1]	67	72	83
Summerton HS	163	117	125	141	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Scott's Branch HS	555	582	591	597	825	556	525	589	870	535	478	605	369	372	209

* data not available

— school not in operation

[1] enrollment for entire school (K-12, 1966-68, 1980-96; 1-12, 1968-1976)

Bold indicates private school

Italics indicate schools for white students prior to integration

Underline indicates schools for black students prior to integration

After accounting for the students enrolled in Scott's Branch or Clarendon Hall (see Table 4.16), a remainder of 175 individuals of high school age in 2009-10 were not enrolled in area schools – 32.9% of all high school-aged students within the CSD1 area. Again, these residents could be homeschooled, enrolled in a nearby private school such as Laurence Manning Academy, have graduated, or dropped out. Home school enrollment for CSD1 in 2009-10 is unknown, but the district had just 1 homeschooled student in high school grades in 2012-13, and 6 in 2013-14 (South Carolina Department of Education 2015), showing that home schooling is not widely practiced. The racial makeup of the remainder is similar in proportion to that of the school district's high school-aged population, indicating that proportional numbers of black and white students have chosen other options. The American Community Survey's 5-year (2006-2010) estimates projected 45 individuals residing within CSD1 attended private schools in 2010, but the margin of error (±52) is also very large, therefore this data is mostly unreliable (American Community Survey 2010).

As in Lee County, it is evident that schools in the Summerton area remain *de facto* segregated. The reasons for this also are likely to be the same, including a long-standing history of racial segregation in the area and economic stagnation. Scott's Branch and Clarendon Hall are also located within close proximity (a five-minute drive), therefore transportation concerns are not likely a significant deciding factor when choosing schools. Unlike Lee County, however, the area has a public school that consistently exceeds expectations, but also has performed poorly on standardized tests. In Summerton, very few minorities attend Clarendon Hall, and very few white students attend Scott's Branch.

4.4.3 Clarendon School District 2

Clarendon School District 2 (CSD2) is located in the central third of Clarendon County, and contains the majority of the county's population, including the county seat and largest city, Manning. CSD2 obtained unitary status in 2004, relieving it from the federal court desegregation orders it had been under since 1966 (USCCR 2008). Manning High School is the one high school in the district to which all residents are zoned. CSD2 also includes a small, special education-oriented charter school, Phoenix Charter High School.

The largest private school in the CSD2 area is Laurence Manning Academy, founded in 1972 and accredited by SCISA. Laurence Manning Academy tends to fit the general profile of a segregation academy, as it was founded during the era of integration, has an overwhelmingly white enrollment, and has a general non-denominational Christian affiliation. It is unclear if Laurence Manning Academy ever had segregationist policies; however, black students first appear in the school's yearbooks in the 2000-01 schoolyear. Two other private schools in the CSD2 area offer high school grades. Stokes Christian Academy, a ministry of Manning Baptist Temple, began in the mid-1970s. Mother Geneva Johnson Academy, a branch of Have Faith Community Development Corporation, LLC, began operation in 2005 in rural Alcolu, approximately 4 miles north of Manning. At least one other private school has operated in the CSD2 area since integration: the Christian Academy of the First Baptist Church of Manning, which began in 1965 and closed circa 1984 after unsuccessful attempts to reorganize and/or merge with Laurence Manning Academy.

Compared to the Summerton area and Clarendon School District 1, the central third of Clarendon County is somewhat more reflective of the overall county's approximate half-white, half-black racial demographic composition. In 2010, the high school-aged population

living in CSD2 totaled 1,446 residents; of which 60.5% (875) were black, 35.5% (514) white, and 3.9% (57) of other races (U.S. Census 2010).

Manning High School has seen a slow but generally steady decrease in white enrollment since the 1989-90 schoolyear, at which time the school's 893 students were 63.3% (565) black and 36.7% (328) white, with no other races represented. This decreased by 1999-2000 to 67.3% (695) black, 30.9% (319) white, and 1.8% (19) of other races; as the school grew to 1,033 students. Finally, by 2009-10, the racial composition of Manning High's 908 students was 69.5% (631) black, 27.9% (253) white, and 2.6% (24) other (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

Laurence Manning Academy, however, is tied with Robert E. Lee Academy as the most segregated school in the study area for the 2009-10 schoolyear. Laurence Manning not only has the largest enrollment of any private school in the study area, but as of 2014, is the largest private school in the state of South Carolina. Despite being located within close proximity to Manning High, whose racial composition at least somewhat mirrors the surrounding community, Laurence Manning's 916 students were 98.8% (905) white, 0.5% (5) black, and 0.7% (6) Hispanic. When the entire school's racial demographic composition is applied *pro rata* over Laurence Manning's 303 students enrolled in grades 9-12; there were an estimated 299 white students, 2 black students, and 2 students of other races in high school grades in 2009-10 (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

This has historically been the case for Laurence Manning Academy, as the earliest data available through the National Center for Education Statistics (1997-98) indicates that there were 633 students, 628 (99.2%) white and 5 (0.8%) black. The most diverse year at Laurence Manning from the data available was 2007-08: 844 students; 828 (98.1%) white, 5 (0.6%) black, and 11 (1.3%) from other races. It is also worthy of note that Laurence

Manning Academy has grown quite steadily over time, from 633 students in 1997-98 to 916 in 2009-10 (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

Information is difficult to find for both Stokes Christian Academy and Mother Geneva Johnson Academy. Stokes Christian Academy was listed briefly in the School Directory of South Carolina; in 1980-81, with a total of 8 students listed as "Ungraded." Mother Geneva Johnson Academy has a Christian focus and appears to cater toward black families. Like NewSong Christian School in Bishopville, Mother Geneva Johnson Academy is accredited by the Grace Association of Private Schools (School Directory of South Carolina 1981, Grace Association of Private Schools 2015).

Table 4.18. Public-Private School Choice in Clarendon School District 2, 2010

Geography	Year	White	Black	All Other	Total	% White	% Black	% Other	Total %
Clarendon School District 2	**2010**	**514**	**875**	**57**	**1446**	**35.5%**	**60.5%**	**3.9%**	**100.0%**
Manning HS	2009-10	253	631	24	908	27.9%	69.5%	2.6%	100.0%
Phoenix Charter HS	2009-10	31	29	1	61	50.8%	47.5%	1.6%	100.0%
Laurence Manning Academy	2009-10	*(299.4)*	*(1.7)*	*(2.0)*	303	98.8%	0.5%	0.7%	100.0%
Remainder	2010	-69	213	30	174	-39.9%	122.6%	17.3%	100.0%

Note: Figures in parentheses are estimated.

Table 4.19. Clarendon School District 2 Area School Enrollments for Selected Years, 1966-2013

	Pre-Integration				Post-Integration										
School	**1966-67**	**67-68**	**68-69**	**69-70**	**70-71**	**71-72**	**72-73**	**75-76**	**80-81**	**85-86**	**89-90**	**95-96**	**1999-2000**	**05-06**	**12-13**
Christian Academy	260[1]	268[1]	237[1]	222[1]	*	623[1]	659[1]	*	461[1]	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laurence Manning Acad.	—	—	—	—	—	—	*	271[2]	430[2]	345[2]	385[2]	663[2]	181	225	314
Stokes Christian Academy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8[3]	*	*	*	*	*	*
Manning High	473	360	367	349	1111	1050	973	924	1016	950	893	1048	1033	896	845
Manning Training HS	874	860	718	704	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Phoenix Charter HS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	55	45

Bold indicates private school
Italics indicate schools for white students prior to integration
Underline indicates schools for black students prior to integration

* data not available
— school not in operation
[1] enrollment for entire school (K-12, 1966-1981)
[2] enrollment for entire school (K-12, 1975-1996)
[3] designated as "ungraded"

After subtracting all students enrolled in area schools from the total number of high school-aged residents of CSD2 in 2009-10 (see Table 4.18), there were a total of 174 students unaccounted for – 12% of the entire high school-aged population of CSD2. Stokes Christian Academy and Mother Geneva Johnson Academy are not included, as their enrollments are unknown. However, there are actually 69 *more* white students attending school in the CSD2 area than there are residing in the surrounding community. These students are almost certainly white students zoned in other districts and/or counties, but attending Laurence Manning Academy. As there are also almost certainly at least some white residents aged 14-18 within CSD2 that are homeschooled, have graduated, or have dropped out – this indicates that not only does Laurence Manning attract an extremely disproportionate share of white students from surrounding communities, but that black students in the area are exponentially more likely to be homeschooled, have graduated, or dropped out. Home schooling is not widely practiced, as a total of 13 students in 2012-13 and 19 students in 2013-14 in grades 9-12 were homeschooled in CSD2. The 2010 American Community Survey's 5-year (2006-2010) estimates projected a total of 214 residents of CSD2 attended private high school in 2010, however, the margin of error (±127) is again very high (U.S. Census Bureau 2010).

Overall, the schools in Clarendon School District 2 are not as blatantly *de facto* segregated as previous areas discussed. Manning High School's demographic composition is within reasonable proportion to that of the surrounding community. Manning High School also has tended to exceed state expectations and has performed well on standardized tests, so comparably fewer parents may be motivated to seek out alternative educational options. As in previous areas, transportation is likely not a deciding factor between Laurence Manning Academy and Manning High School, as the two schools are located within a five-

minute drive from one another. However, the presence of one of the most segregated private schools in the study area, which happens to be the largest private school in South Carolina, indicates that this phenomenon remains present.

4.4.4 Clarendon School District 3

Clarendon School District 3 (CSD3) is located in the rural northeastern third of Clarendon County, and is the least populous of all districts in the study area. CSD3 operates one high school, East Clarendon Middle/High, located in Turbeville. Likely owing to its rural location, East Clarendon operates as a combined middle and high school (operating grades 6-12), unlike most high schools in South Carolina, which usually operate grades 9-12. CSD3 has not attained unitary status and is therefore still under federal court order, having been since 1969. In 2008, the district offered no position as to whether or not it would attempt to attain unitary status (USCCR 2008).

Unlike other districts in this study, there are no private schools operating within the CSD3 area. However, one particularly sizeable private school formerly operated in the area; Salem School/Salem Academy in New Zion, a rural area approximately 5 miles south of Turbeville. Salem opened in 1970 and boasted 411 (K-12) students in 1972-73 before shrinking to 160 (K-12) students by 1985-86 and closing the same year (School Directory of South Carolina 1973, 1986).

The northeastern portion of Clarendon County and CDS3 area is distinct in that it contains more white residents, compared to Clarendon County as a whole. In 2010, the racial demographic composition of all 6,808 residents in the CSD3 area was 59.7% (4,066) white, 38% (2,585) black, and 2.3% (157) from other races (U.S. Census Bureau 2010).

However, this data is skewed by the presence of Turbeville Correctional Institution, a South Carolina state prison that houses male offenders aged 17-25 (South Carolina Department of Corrections 2015). A total of 1,390 individuals (all males) were enumerated under "Correctional facilities for adults" within CSD3 in 2010, therefore, it is reasonable to assume most, if not all, of these individuals were housed at the institution. The population classification by age shows a sharp increase in the population of 17 to 25 year old males in relation to females residing within the CSD3 area (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). As inmates within Turbeville Correctional Institution would not be attending East Clarendon Middle/High School, it is necessary to adjust this data to more accurately compare the demographic composition of the school to the surrounding community.

To accomplish this, the number of male residents aged 17 and 18 has been estimated to equal the number of female residents of the same age. This can be reasonably assumed, as no female inmates are housed at Turbeville Correctional Institution, and the total number of male residents of CSD3 aged 14-16 is equal to the number of females: 106 of each. Then, the racial demographic profile of CSD3's population aged 14-16 is applied *pro rata* over the estimated number of students aged 17-18 not housed within the institution, to yield an estimated number of students of each race (U.S. Census Bureau 2010).

After calculation, there were an estimated 342 individuals aged 14-18 living within CSD3 not housed at Turbeville Correctional Institution in 2010. Of these 342 individuals, an estimated 59.9% (205) were white, 37.3% (127) black, and 2.8% (10) from other races. This calculation matches up closely with the racial demographic composition of East Clarendon Middle/High School in 2009-10, when the 625 students attending (grades 6-12) were 68.6% (429) white, 28.6% (179) black, and 2.7% (17) of other races. This racial demographic profile is characteristic of East Clarendon in recent decades, but reflects a

slight increase in white enrollment that has typically been around 62% (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

Since East Clarendon is a middle/high school offering grades 6-12, it is necessary to apply the same calculation previously used for K-12 private schools to estimate the racial demographic composition of East Clarendon's high school grades. By applying the racial percentage of East Clarendon's grades 6-12 *pro rata* over the 356 students in grades 9-12, there were an estimated 244 white students, 102 black students, and 10 students of other races in East Clarendon's high school grades in 2009-10 (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

Table 4.20. Public-Private School Choice in Clarendon School District 3, 2010

Geography	Year	White	Black	All Other	Total	%White	%Black	%Other	Total%
Clarendon School District 3	**2010**	***(204.9)***	***(127.4)***	***(9.7)***	***(342.0)***	**59.9%**	**37.3%**	**2.8%**	**100.0%**
E Clarendon M/HS	2009-10	*(244.4)*	*(102.0)*	*(9.7)*	*(356.1)*	68.6%	28.6%	2.7%	100.0%
Remainder	2010	*(-39.5)*	*(25.4)*	*(0.0)*	*-(14.1)*	-280.1%	180.1%	0.0%	100.0%

Note: Figures in parentheses are estimated.

Table 4.21. Clarendon County District 3 Area School Enrollments for Selected Years, 1966-2013

	Pre-Integration				**Post-Integration**										
School	**1966-67**	**67-68**	**68-69**	**69-70**	**70-71**	**71-72**	**72-73**	**75-76**	**80-81**	**85-86**	**89-90**	**95-96**	**1999-2000**	**05-06**	**12-13**
Salem Schools	—	—	—	—	*	247[1]	411[1]	389[1]	327[1]	160[1]	—	—	—	—	—
East Clarendon M/HS	*	357	357	351	397	394	366	391	400	380	380	386	342	371	299
Walker-Gamble HS	320	358	338	342	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* data not available
— school not in operation
[1] enrollment for entire school (1-12, 1971-73; K-12, 1975-86)
Bold indicates private school
Italics indicate schools for white students prior to integration
Underline indicates schools for black students prior to integration

Atypical of the study area, East Clarendon Middle/High School actually appears to have a slightly higher proportion of white enrollment in comparison to the surrounding community, CSD3 (see Table 4.20). The estimation shows that there are actually more students attending East Clarendon than live in the CSD3 area. However, these figures are certainly inexact due to the fact that both CSD3's 17-18 male population and East Clarendon's grade 9-12 population are estimated. The data shows that East Clarendon's student population approximately mirrors that of the surrounding community. The percentages are large due to the area's low population, but there do not appear to be large numbers of students of either race that are unaccounted for by graduating early, dropping out, attending home school, or attending a private school. Undoubtedly, some students have likely chosen alternative paths – but their numbers do not appear to be large. In 2012-13, 3 students in high school grades in the CSD3 area were homeschooled, dropping to 2 in 2013-14 (South Carolina Department of Education 2015). The American Community Survey's 5-year (2006-2010) estimates projected a total of 28 students that resided within CSD3 attended private high schools in 2010, but the margin of error (±39) was again very high (U.S. Census Bureau 2010).

Schools in CSD3 do not show a large degree of *de facto* segregation, especially compared to other schools in the study area. There are many plausible explanations that may help to explain this. First, there is no private school in the area, though a private school would only be a 20-to-25 minute drive away for most CSD3 residents and it is highly likely that at least some students in the CSD3 area attend private school. Also, white residents are not a minority in the CSD3 area, therefore, racially-motivated decisions that may factor into public-private school choice may not be as prevalent. Finally, East Clarendon has tended to

exceed state expectations and performed well on standardized tests, so parent concerns about public school performance are also likely to be less prevalent.

4.4.5 Sumter County

Three public high schools operate in Sumter County, all part of Sumter School District. Before the districts were consolidated for the 2011-2012 schoolyear, Sumter County consisted of two districts, Sumter County School District 2 (SCSD2) and Sumter County School District 17 (SCSD17). SCSD17 was never subject to federal court order in regard to desegregation, while SCSD2, as of 2008, has remained under federal desegregation orders since 1956 (USCCR 2008). It is unknown how, or whether, the dissolution of SCSD2 upon consolidation has affected this order.

SCSD17 operated one high school, Sumter High School, whose attendance zone primarily covers Sumter city proper. SCSD2 operated two high schools: Crestwood High School, located northeast of Sumter and drawing from northern Sumter County; and Lakewood High School, located south of Sumter and drawing from southern Sumter County. The most recent census data available (2010) shows data prior to consolidation, and the attendance zones for each high school have changed very little, if at all. Therefore, a large part of the analysis done in Sumter County will be done using the two pre-consolidated districts, despite their now-defunct status.

A total of six private schools housing grades 9-12 operated in Sumter County during the 2009-10 schoolyear: St. Francis Xavier High School, Sumter Academy, Sumter Christian School, Thomas Sumter Academy, William Thomas Academy, and Wilson Hall School. These schools include nondenominational Christian academies, Catholic schools, and independent

schools, and had enrollments in grades 9-12 ranging from 9 to 243 students (National Center for Education Statistics 2015, South Carolina Department of Education 2010).

In 2009-10, the high school-aged population residing in both public districts, representing the entirety of Sumter County, totaled 7,711; 41.9% (3,229) white, 53.5% (4,127) black, and 4.6% (355) of other races. Both districts showed significant similarity in their demographic composition. The high school-aged population residing in SCSD2 totaled 3,927 individuals; 43.3% (1,702) white, 51.7% (2,030) black, and 5.0% (195) of other races. In SCSD17, there were 3,784 residents of high school age; 40.4% (1,527) white, 55.4% (2,097) black, and 4.2% (160) of other races (U.S. Census Bureau 2010).

Sumter High School became the only high school in SCSD17 in the 1971-72 schoolyear, shortly after integration. Sumter High has seen a significant decline in its white enrollment in recent decades, with a roughly proportional increase in enrollments of other races. In 1989-90, 2,576 students attended Sumter High; 50.9% (1,310) white, 48.9% (1,259) black, and 7 (0.3%) of other races. By 1999-2000, enrollment was essentially the same at 2,570, but white enrollment had dropped to 37.6% (967), while minority enrollment climbed – 60.6% (1,557) black, and 1.8% (46) of other races (National Center for Education Statistics 2015). This trend continued, albeit on a smaller scale, into 2009-10, when Sumter High's 2,402 students were 35.1% (844) white, 62.4% (1,500) black, and 2.4% (58) were of other races (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

This demographic shift is commensurate with the change in the population of Sumter city proper during the same period. As the city of Sumter's total population was 59.8% white/38.2% black in 1990; 49.6% white/46.3% black in 2000; and 45.3% white/49.1% black in 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau 1990, 2000, 2010); it is evident that in

recent decades, the white enrollment of Sumter High School has tended to be approximately 10% lower than the proportion of white residents in the city of Sumter.

Table 4.22. Public-Private School Choice in Sumter County School District 17, 2010

Geography	Year	White	Black	All Other	Total	% White	% Black	% Other	Total %
SCSD17	2010	1527	2097	160	3784	40.4%	55.4%	4.2%	100.0%
Sumter HS	2009-10	844	1500	58	2402	35.1%	62.4%	2.4%	100.0%
Remainder	2010	683	597	102	1382	49.4%	43.2%	7.4%	100.0%

A total of 1,382 residents of age 14-18 within the SCSD17 area did not attend Sumter High School in 2009-10, 36.5% of the district's high school-aged population. The remainder – early graduates, homeschooled students, private school attendees, and high school dropouts – is racially mixed, but is slightly more white (49.4%) than black (43.2%). Considering the racial demographic composition of area private schools, it is likely that many of these white students were enrolled in private school. SCSD17 as a whole does not show a high degree of *de facto* segregation, but like most schools in the study area, Sumter High School has a higher proportion of black students in comparison to its surrounding community.

Crestwood and Lakewood High Schools both began operation in 1996, after the consolidation of SCSD2's three high schools (Furman High School, Hillcrest High School, and Mayewood High School) into two. Most of the former Furman High attendance zone became slated for Lakewood, most of Hillcrest became slated for Crestwood, and Mayewood was essentially split between the two. The student populations of these three high schools showed significant variation in their racial demographic composition. In 1994-95, Furman High's 676 students were 62.1% (420) white, 37.4% (253) black, and 0.4% (3) of other

races; Hillcrest High's 977 students were 36.2% (354) white, 60.9% (595) black; and Mayewood High's 477 students were 9.6% white (46), and 90.4% (431) black, with no other races represented (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

Upon consolidation, both Crestwood and Lakewood have had majority-black enrollments, with Crestwood in particular having higher proportions of black students. In 1999-2000, Crestwood's 1,388 students were 66.5% (923) black, 30.1% (418) white, and 3.4% (47) from other races. By comparison, in the same year, Lakewood's 1,232 students were 54.6% (611) black, 44.0% (492) white, and 1.4% (16) were from other races (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

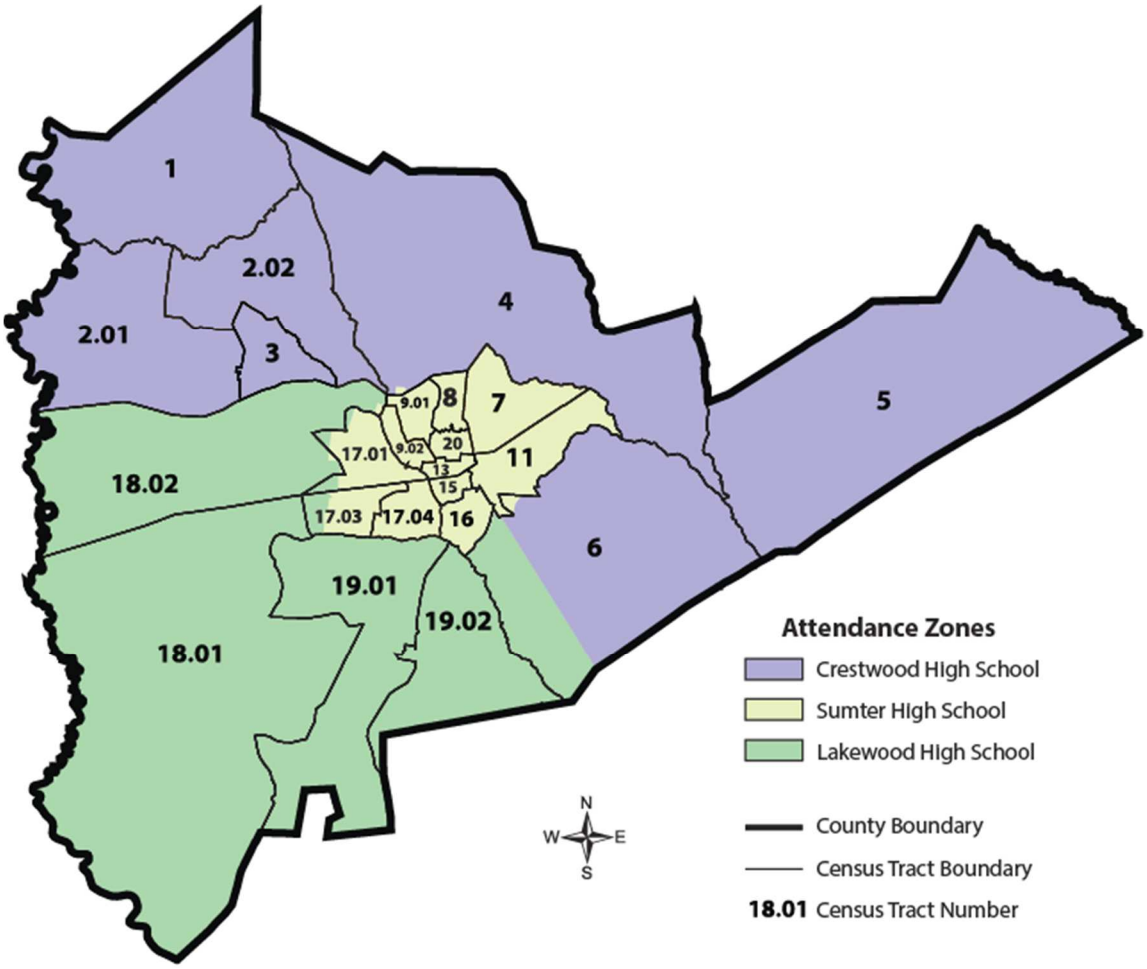
Over the next decade, the percentage of white students at both schools decreased, specifically at Crestwood. By 2009-10, Crestwood's 1,309 students were 74.2% (971) black, 23.0% (301) white, and 2.8% (37) of other races. In the same year, Lakewood had a student population of 1,232; 53.3% (657) black, 43.4% (535) white, and 3.2% (40) from other races (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

Crestwood and Lakewood are unique to the study area in that in 2009-10, SCSD2 was the only school district operating two geographically-zoned non-charter high schools. As such, the demographic composition of the district as a whole would not be an accurate representation of the schools' surrounding communities, as it would be for other districts with only one high school. In order to obtain a racial demographic profile that is more indicative of the community from which each high school draws its students, it is necessary to use census tract data in order to compile the demographic composition of each high school's attendance zone.

With a few minor exceptions, the borders of the attendance zones of Sumter County's high schools roughly match the borders of census tracts (illustrated in Figure 4.2).

The attendance zone of Lakewood High School approximately corresponds with census tracts 18.01, 18.02, 19.01, and 19.02; likewise, the attendance zone of Crestwood High School approximately corresponds with census tracts 1, 2.01, 2.02, 3, 4, 5, and 6 (U.S. Census 2010, Sumter County Government 2015).

Figure 4.2. Sumter County Census Tract and Attendance Zone Boundaries



In 2010, the total population of high school-aged individuals within Crestwood High School's attendance zone (see Table 4.23) totaled 2,193; 57.5% (1,260) black, 37.5% (823) white, and 5% (110) from other races. In the same year, the total population of high school-

aged individuals within Lakewood High School's attendance zone (approximately, census tracts 18.01, 18.02, 19.01, and 19.02) totaled 1,716; 51.6% (886) white, 43.3% (743) black, and 5.1% (87) of other races (U.S. Census Bureau 2010).

In 2009-10, there were a total of 484 residents of Lakewood High School's attendance zone between the ages of 14-18 that do not attend Lakewood, 28.2% of the area's high school-aged population (see Table 4.24). As in other areas, this remainder could be early graduates, homeschooled, private school attendees, or high school dropouts. This remainder is largely (72.5%) white, it is likely that the majority of these white students are enrolled in private school.

A total of 884 residents of Crestwood High School's attendance zone in 2009-10 between the ages of 14-18 that do not attend Crestwood, 40.3% of the area's high school-aged population. Again, early graduates, homeschooled students, private school attendees, and dropouts comprise this remainder that is majority (59.0%) white. It is also likely that many of these white students are enrolled in area private schools.

Table 4.23. Public-Private School Choice in Crestwood High School Attendance Zone, 2010

Geography	Year	White	Black	All Other	Total	% White	% Black	% Other	Total %
Crestwood HS Attendance Zone	**2010**	**823**	**1260**	**110**	**2193**	**37.5%**	**57.5%**	**5.0%**	**100.0%**
Crestwood HS	2009-10	301	971	37	1309	23.0%	74.2%	2.8%	100.0%
Remainder	2010	522	289	73	884	59.0%	32.7%	8.3%	100.0%

Table 4.24. Public-Private School Choice in Lakewood High School Attendance Zone, 2010

Geography	Year	White	Black	All Other	Total	% White	% Black	% Other	Total %
Lakewood HS Attendance Zone	**2010**	**886**	**743**	**87**	**1716**	**51.6%**	**43.3%**	**5.1%**	**100.0%**
Lakewood HS	2009-10	535	657	40	1232	43.4%	53.3%	3.2%	100.0%
Remainder	2010	351	86	47	484	72.5%	17.8%	9.7%	100.0%

This shows that there is a slightly higher disparity between the enrollments at Crestwood and Lakewood (and at Crestwood in particular), compared to their surrounding communities, than at Sumter High School. Neither high school shows a high degree of *de facto* segregation. However, as is typical of the study area, the student bodies of both schools have a higher percentage of black students and a lower percentage of white students in comparison to their surrounding communities. Possible reasons for this could include mixed performance by both Lakewood and Crestwood in terms of state evaluations and standardized test scores, leading to mixed perceptions of school quality.

Transportation-related issues could also play a role, as the attendance zones for Lakewood and Crestwood are quite large. Students on the outer reaches of Lakewood's attendance zone could be closer to a private school such as Wilson Hall, Thomas Sumter Academy, or even Laurence Manning Academy. Likewise, students that live in northwestern Sumter County, such as the town of Rembert, are zoned to Crestwood (a 22-minute drive) but would likely pass Thomas Sumter Academy (an 8-minute drive) on their way.

Of the private high schools in Sumter County, two – Wilson Hall School and Thomas Sumter Academy – account for the significant majority of the county's private school enrollment. Another, St. Francis Xavier High School, serves as the only Catholic high school in the region. The others, such as Sumter Academy and William Thomas Academy, tend to have small enrollments that serve a niche demographic (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

Wilson Hall School, located along the western fringes of the city of Sumter, was founded in 1967 during the segregation academy movement and is accredited by SCISA, SACS (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools), and SAIS (Southern Association of Independent Schools). Wilson Hall was the fourth-largest private school in South Carolina in

2014. The school, at one time, had its tax exemption revoked by the IRS, presumably for discriminatory reasons (Education Week 1982). Wilson Hall is listed by the South Carolina Department of Education as simply "Private," indicating no religious affiliation. Wilson Hall's website boasts "a positive environment rich in Judeo-Christian values," but clearly defines itself as an "independent school," with "students who represent each of the major religions in the world … encouraged to express their beliefs as well" (Wilson Hall School 2015).

Much like Hammond Academy in Columbia, mentioned in the previous chapter, Wilson Hall has attempted to distance itself from its segregationist past and reinvent itself as a quality college preparatory school – boasting selective admissions standards and the highest yearly base tuition ($6,370 per high school student in 2014) of any private school in the study area (Wilson Hall School 2015, South Carolina Department of Education 2010). One area school headmaster, who wished to remain anonymous, confided that Wilson Hall was the first choice of many area parents, and that many attendees of other private schools are students that were not accepted to Wilson Hall. However, its history cannot be ignored, and although minority enrollment has risen in recent years, the student body of Wilson Hall remains overwhelmingly white.

In 1997-98, Wilson Hall's 600 students in grades PK-12 were 97.5% (585) white, 0.8% (5) black, and 1.7% (10) of other races. Minority enrollment saw a decrease for a short time in the early 2000s (2003-04; 704 students; 99.3% (699) white, 0.3% (2) black, 0.4% (3) other) but has steadily increased since. In 2009-10, Wilson Hall had 798 students; 94.9% (757) white, 1.8% (14) black, and 3.4% (27) of other races. Applied *pro rata* over the 243 students enrolled in grades 9-12, Wilson Hall's high school grades enrolled an

estimated 231 white students, 4 black students, and 8 students from other races in 2009-10 (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

Thomas Sumter Academy (TSA) was one of the first segregation academies to open in South Carolina, in 1964. TSA is accredited by SCISA, SACS, and SAIS, and is located just outside of rural Dalzell, approximately 10 miles northwest of Sumter. Thomas Sumter Academy is also listed by the South Carolina Department of Education as simply "Private." However, there are certainly Christian overtones, as the school's website makes mention of an "environment of Christian love and discipline" and quotes the Bible's 2 Peter 1:5: "*Add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge*" (Thomas Sumter Academy 2015). Thomas Sumter Academy has also openly tried to distance itself from its segregationist past, and has the second-highest ($5,465 per high school student in 2014) yearly base tuition in the study area. The academy's tax exemption was also, at one time, revoked presumably for discriminatory reasons (Education Week 1982), and a view of the academy's yearbooks show the first black students attended in the 1987-88 schoolyear. Like Wilson Hall, however, its history cannot be ignored, and Thomas Sumter Academy remains overwhelmingly white – although in 2009-10, TSA had the highest percentage of minority enrollment of any private school in the study area with more than 35 students (Thomas Sumter Academy 2015, South Carolina Department of Education 2015).

In 1997-98, Thomas Sumter Academy's PK-12 enrollment was 485 students; 97.1% (471) white, 0.6% (3) black, and 2.3% (11) from other races. However, minority enrollment has seen a slow but gradual rise. By 2003-04, black enrollment in particular had increased to 3.7% (21 black students out of 519 total); and in 2009-10, Thomas Sumter Academy's 416 students were 90.1% (375) white, 3.1% (13) black, and 6.7% (28) of other races. Applied *pro rata* over Thomas Sumter's 143 students in grades 9-12, there were an

estimated 129 white, 4 black, and 10 students of other races enrolled in high school grades (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

St. Francis Xavier High School is a small Catholic high school, operating grades 9-12, located in downtown Sumter and accredited by SCISA. Although the current institution was established in 1997, St. Francis Xavier traces its roots back to 1962 through Sumter's previous Catholic high schools – St. Jude High School and Sumter Catholic High School. While St. Jude High School did see a spike in enrollment during the era of integration, the school was never segregated or considered a segregation academy (St. Francis Xavier High School 2015, National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

Since its establishment as St. Francis Xavier High School, the school has seen small fluctuations in its racial demographic composition, but has generally had a racially diverse student population. In 2003-04, the school had its highest percentage of minority enrollment – of its 42 students, 54.8% (23) were white, 42.9% (18) black, and 2.4% (1) of another race. In 2009-10, 38 students attended St. Francis Xavier; 65.8% (25) white, 21.1% (8) black, and 5.7% (2) of other races. 8.5% (3) of students were also from two or more races (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

Sumter Christian School is a PK-12 school, located in Sumter, which operates as a ministry of the non-denominational Sumter Bible Church. Sumter Christian School is accredited by the South Carolina Association of Christian Schools, a division of the American Association of Christian Schools. While its website lists its founding in 1974, the earliest listing in the School Directory of South Carolina is in 1980-81, and no data for the school is available from the National Center for Education Statistics. The South Carolina Department of Education's Private School Survey lists 53 students in grades 9-12, and photographs on the school website appear to show a racially diverse student population (School Directory

of South Carolina 1981, Sumter Christian School 2015, South Carolina Department of Education 2015). Due to the significant lack of information surrounding Sumter Christian School, it is unclear whether the school was ever segregated, despite being founded during the segregation academy era.

Sumter Academy (also listed as Discovery Learning Center) is a small school accommodating students with special needs, with a total enrollment of 20 students (including 9 students in grades 9-12) in 2009-10. Of the 20 students, 70% (14) were white and 30% (6) black, with no other races represented. Sumter Academy began operation sometime in the early 2000s. The enrollment of Sumter Academy has dropped considerably since 2001-02, when 82 students were enrolled; 75.6% (62) white, 9.8% (8) black, and 14.6% (14) from other races. Sumter Academy is accredited by the Grace Association of Private Schools (National Center for Education Statistics 2015, Grace Association of Private Schools 2015).

William Thomas Academy, located in Sumter, is a small private academy operating grades PK-12, that was established in 2004. William Thomas Academy is worthy of note due to the fact that, like Mother Geneva Johnson Academy in Clarendon County, William Thomas Academy caters primarily toward black families looking for alternatives to not only public education, but also to white-dominated private schools (Sumter Item 2005). In 2009-10, William Thomas Academy enrolled 43 students in grades PK-12; 95.3% (41) of students were black, 4.7% (2) white, and 4.7% (2) were also from two or more races. Applied *pro rata* over the 22 students enrolled in grades 9-12, William Thomas Academy had an estimated 21 black students and 1 white student, including 1 multiracial student enrolled in high school grades in 2009-10 (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

Multiple private schools that once operated in Sumter County during and after the era of integration have also gone defunct. Hudgens Academy, founded in 1965 as a segregation academy, was located in a rural area adjacent to Interstate 95 in northeastern Sumter County. The IRS revoked Hudgens' tax exemption at one time, ostensibly due to discriminatory actions (Education Week 1982). The enrollment of Hudgens Academy peaked at 611 (grades 1-12) students in 1971-72, but dwindled to 388 (K-12) by 1980-81, and further to 101 (9-12) in 1999-2000 before closing in 2003. In 1997-98, Hudgens Academy enrolled 323 students, 125 in grades 9-12; and in 1999-2000, 252 students, of which 101 were in grades 9-12. In both years, the racial composition of the school was 100% white (National Center for Education Statistics 2015).

Another school, Francis Marion Academy, briefly existed in rural southern Sumter County from 1965 to 1968. The enrollment of Francis Marion Academy peaked at 85 students (grades 1-11) in 1967-68, after which it closed (School Directory of South Carolina 1968, Sumter Item 1968). Faith Baptist School operated as a ministry of Sumter's Faith Baptist Church from approximately 1980 to 1984; its largest enrollment was 46 (K-12) in 1980-81 before dropping to 11 (K-12) in 1983-84 (School Directory of South Carolina 1980, 1984). Yet another, Temple Baptist Church School, operated from 1973 to 1991. Enrollment was 271 (K-9) in 1980-81, but had dropped to 176 (K-12) by 1989-90 (School Directory of South Carolina 1990, Sumter Item 1991). As documentation and statistics from many schools during this era are missing, incomplete, or were never compiled, the likelihood is that there were even more short-lived private schools in Sumter County that existed during the era of integration or later.

As Sumter County contains the majority of the population within the study area, there are more schools from which parents and students can choose. Students from any of

the previous counties or districts may attend private school outside of their area of residence – however, with more educational options in Sumter County, it is beneficial to analyze the county as a whole, rather than by district or attendance zone. As the economic center of the study area, the private schools in Sumter also likely attract more students from surrounding counties than vice versa. Transportation may also play a role in school choice, as with more private school options, a private school may be closer to a resident than a public school.

Table 4.25. Public-Private School Choice in Sumter County, 2010

Geography	Year	White	Black	All Other	Total	%White	%Black	%Other	Total%
Sumter County	**2010**	**3229**	**4127**	**355**	**7711**	**41.9%**	**53.5%**	**4.6%**	**100.0%**
Crestwood HS	2009-10	301	971	37	1309	23.0%	74.2%	2.8%	100.0%
Lakewood HS	2009-10	535	657	40	1232	43.4%	53.3%	3.2%	100.0%
Sumter HS	2009-10	844	1500	58	2402	35.1%	62.4%	2.4%	100.0%
Thomas Sumter	2009-10	*(128.9)*	*(4.5)*	*(9.6)*	143	90.1%	3.1%	6.7%	100.0%
Wilson Hall	2009-10	*(230.5)*	*(4.3)*	*(8.2)*	243	94.9%	1.8%	3.4%	100.0%
St. Francis Xavier	2009-10	25	8	5	38	65.8%	21.1%	13.2%	100.0%
Sumter Academy	2009-10	*(6.3)*	*(2.7)*	*(0.0)*	9	70.0%	30.0%	0.0%	100.0%
William Thomas	2009-10	*(1.0)*	*(21.0)*	*(0.0)*	22	4.7%	95.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Remainder	2010	*(1157.3)*	*(958.6)*	*(197.2)*	2313	50.0%	41.4%	8.5%	100.0%

Note: Figures in parentheses are estimated.

Table 4.26. Sumter County School Enrollments for Selected Years, 1966-2013

	Pre-Integration				Post-Integration										
School	1966-67	67-68	68-69	69-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	75-76	80-81	85-86	89-90	95-96	1999-2000	05-06	12-13
Francis Marion Acad.	80[1]	85[1]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hudgens Academy	—	134[1]	113[1]	120[1]	*	611[1]	604[1]	558[1]	388[1]	410[1]	301[1]	299[1]	101	—	—
St. Jude/St. Fr. Xav. HS	303[1]	242[1]	87	139	*	89[1]	122[1]	277[1]	94	120	220	149	—	38	40
Sumter Christian School	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	263[1]	236[1]	394[1]	438[1]	345[1]	*	53
Sumter Academy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	271[1]	110[1]	176[1]	46[1]	87[1]	11	15
Thomas Sumter Acad.	220[1]	232[1]	210[1]	273[1]	*	623[1]	659[1]	658[1]	842[1]	1145[1]	605[1]	485[1]	166	570[1]	149
William Thomas Acad.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17
Wilson Hall	—	—	—	185[1]	*	644[1]	635[1]	673[1]	863[1]	702[1]	446[1]	507[1]	181	209	245
Furman HS	317	317	338	358	636	616	750	855	607	544	*	683	—	—	—
Hillcrest HS	654	683	841	1057	1363	1551	1584	1581	1172	1070	*	983	—	—	—
Ebenezer HS	898	838	846	848	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Manchester HS	520	473	461	438	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mayewood HS	379	358	344	341	841	756	795	854	868	634	*	476	—	—	—
Eastern HS	874	860	718	704	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Crestwood HS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1466	1351	1156
Lakewood HS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1228	1267	1126
Edmunds HS	1210	1300	1388	1455	1319	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lincoln HS	1254	1265	1223	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sumter HS	—	—	—	888	1061	2277	2227	2306	3003	2688	2700	2737	2690	2449	2356

Bold indicates private school
Italics indicate schools for white students prior to integration
Underline indicates schools for black students prior to integration

* data not available
— school not in operation
[1] enrollment for entire school (all K-12 grades)

After subtracting students enrolled in area schools from the total number of high school-aged students within Sumter County, there were 2,313 individuals unaccounted for – approximately 30% of the high school-aged population within Sumter County. Sumter Christian School is not included, as its enrollment is unknown. Sumter County is atypical of the study area in that there are a higher proportion of white students (50%) unaccounted for than black students (41.4%). Interestingly, the number of white students (1157) unaccounted for is nearly identical to the total number of minority students (1155) unaccounted for. These students could have graduated from high school early, be homeschooled, attend a private high school outside of Sumter County, or have dropped out of high school altogether. Home schooling is slightly more popular in Sumter County, with 123 students in high school grades being homeschooled in the county in both 2012-13 and 2013-14 (South Carolina Department of Education 2015).

The American Community Survey's 5-year (2006-2010) estimates projected a total of 491 (±226) students in SCSD2 and 440 (±180) in SCSD17 that attended private high schools in 2010. In total, this amounts to 931 students throughout the county, but as typical for this dataset from the American Community Survey, the total margin of error (±406) is very high (U.S. Census Bureau 2010).

Table 4.27. Public-Private School Choice (Aggregated) in Sumter County, 2010

Public-Private School Choice (Aggregated) in Sumter County, 2010									
Geography	**Year**	**White**	**Black**	**All Other**	**Total**	**% White**	**% Black**	**% Other**	**Total %**
Sumter County	**2010**	**3229**	**4127**	**355**	**7711**	**41.9%**	**53.5%**	**4.6%**	**100.0%**
Public Schools	2009-10	1680	3128	135	4943	34.0%	63.3%	2.7%	100.0%
Private Schools	2009-10	*(391.7)*	*(40.4)*	*(22.8)*	455	86.1%	8.9%	5.0%	100.0%
Remainder	2010	*(1157.3)*	*(958.6)*	*(197.2)*	2313	50.0%	41.4%	8.5%	100.0%

Note: Figures in parentheses are estimated.

When viewed in aggregate, the difference in the racial composition between public and private schools in Sumter County becomes even clearer. As a whole, public high schools within Sumter County are 34% white and 63.3% black. The high school grades of private schools, however, are approximately 86.1% white and 8.9% black. In total, only approximately 40 of 4,127 black students of high school age attend private schools in Sumter County. Given that approximately half (21) are estimated to attend the 95% black William Thomas Academy, this significant racial divide is clearly evident.

4.4.6 Sumter, Clarendon, and Lee Counties

A total of 11,323 individuals aged 14-18 resided within all six districts in the study area in 2010. Approximately 38.6% (4,370.9) were white, 57.2% (6,477.4) were black, and 4.2% (474.7) were of other races. After subtracting the enrollments from all public and private schools located within the study area, a remainder of 3,085 students of high school age did not attend high school within the study area in 2009-10; 27.2% of the total high school-aged population. This remainder was 39.1% (1,207.1) white, 52.4% (1,616.5) black, and 8.5% (261.4) were from other races. The racial demographic composition of this remainder is a reasonably accurate reflection of the study area as a whole, indicating that proportionate numbers of white and black students are likely to graduate early, be homeschooled, attend private school outside of Clarendon, Lee, and Sumter counties, or drop out of high school. Students of other races (American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic, Hawaiian/Pacific Islander), however, are particularly disproportionately unenrolled in any area school, as 55% (261.4) of these students are unaccounted for.

Figure 4.28. Public-Private School Choice in Clarendon, Lee, and Sumter Counties, 2010

Geography	Year	White	Black	All Other	Total	% White	% Black	% Other	% Total
Study Area	**2010**	**4370.9**	**6477.4**	**474.7**	**11323**	**38.6%**	**57.2%**	**4.2%**	**100.0%**
Lee Central HS	2009-10	14	660	11	685	2.0%	96.4%	1.6%	100.0%
Robert E. Lee Academy	2009-10	*(169.0)*	*(2.0)*	*(0.0)*	171	98.8%	1.2%	0.0%	100.0%
Scott's Branch HS	2009-10	7	266	4	277	2.5%	96.0%	1.4%	100.0%
Clarendon Hall	2009-10	*(74.7)*	*(0.7)*	*(3.5)*	79	94.6%	0.9%	4.4%	99.9%
Manning HS	2009-10	253	631	24	908	27.9%	69.5%	2.6%	100.0%
Phoenix Charter HS	2009-10	31	29	1	61	50.8%	47.5%	1.6%	100.0%
Laurence Manning Academy	2009-10	*(299.4)*	*(1.7)*	*(2.0)*	303	98.8%	0.6%	0.7%	100.0%
East Clarendon M/HS	2009-10	*(244)*	*(102)*	*(10)*	356	68.5%	28.7%	2.8%	100.0%
Crestwood HS	2009-10	301	971	37	1309	23.0%	74.2%	2.8%	100.0%
Lakewood HS	2009-10	535	657	40	1232	43.4%	53.3%	3.2%	100.0%
Sumter HS	2009-10	844	1500	58	2402	35.1%	62.4%	2.4%	100.0%
Thomas Sumter Academy	2009-10	*(128.9)*	*(4.5)*	*(9.6)*	143	90.1%	3.1%	6.7%	100.0%
Wilson Hall	2009-10	*(230.5)*	*(4.3)*	*(8.2)*	243	94.9%	1.8%	3.4%	100.0%
St. Francis Xavier High School	2009-10	25	8	5	38	65.8%	21.1%	13.2%	100.0%
Sumter Academy	2009-10	*(6.3)*	*(2.7)*	*(0)*	9	70.0%	30.0%	0.0%	100.0%
William Thomas Academy	2009-10	*(1.0)*	*(21.0)*	*(0)*	22	4.7%	95.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Remainder	2010	*(1207.1)*	*(1616.5)*	*(261.4)*	3085	39.1%	52.4%	8.5%	100.0%

Note: Figures in parentheses are estimated.
Italics indicate private schools.

When the enrollments of all public and private schools are aggregated, the results show, predictably, that public schools have a higher percentage of black enrollment, while private schools have significantly higher white enrollment. As a whole, public high schools within the study area are 30.8% white, 66.6% black, and 2.6% of other races. Private high schools in the study area are, as a whole, 92.7% white, 4.5% black, and 2.8% of other races. Again, most black students in high school grades within the study area that attend private school attend the overwhelmingly-black William Thomas Academy. Of all 1,008 students that attended private high schools within the study area in 2009-10, only 4.7% attended schools that did not have a 90% racial majority – the 47 combined students at St. Francis Xavier High School and Sumter Academy.

While these statistics do not indicate that high schools within the study area are *de facto* segregated as a whole, there is certainly a major difference between the racial demographic composition of the study area and that of the public and private schools located within it. In aggregate, public high schools within the study area have only 9.4% more black students and 7.8% less white students than the high school-aged population of the study area. However, given the sample size of 11,323, the sheer individual numbers are significant.

Figure 4.29. Public-Private School Choice (Aggregated) in Clarendon, Lee, and Sumter Counties, 2010

Public-Private School Choice (Aggregated) in Clarendon, Lee, and Sumter Counties, 2010									
Geography	**Year**	**White**	**Black**	**All Other**	**Total**	**%White**	**%Black**	**%Other**	**Total%**
Study Area	**2010**	**4370.9**	**6477.4**	**474.7**	**11323**	**38.6%**	**57.2%**	**4.2%**	**100.0%**
Public Schools	2009-10	2229	4816	185	7230	30.8%	66.6%	2.6%	100.0%
Private Schools	2009-10	*(934.8)*	*(44.9)*	*(28.3)*	1008	92.7%	4.5%	2.8%	100.0%
Remainder	2010	*(1207.1)*	*(1616.5)*	*(261.4)*	3085	39.1%	52.4%	8.5%	100.0%

Of the approximately 4,371 white students of high school age in the study area in 2010, an estimated 21.4% (934.8) attended area private schools, while 50.1% (2,229) attended public schools. In comparison, of the approximately 6,477 black high school-aged students, 74.4% (4,816) attended public school, while only 0.07% (44.9) attended private school. Remove the estimated 21 black students enrolled in William Thomas Academy's high school grades, and only 0.037% (23.9) of the study area's black high school-aged population were enrolled in area private high schools in 2009-10.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

i. How have legacies of segregation continued to affect public-private school choice in Clarendon, Lee, and Sumter Counties today?

It is evident that, more than six decades after *Brown v. Board*, certain high schools and districts within Sumter, Clarendon and Lee Counties remain *de facto* segregated on the basis of race. The preeminent historical importance of this area in the fight for equal education only adds a twist of unfortunate irony to this fact. Laws requiring separation of individuals by race have long disappeared, but some areas – especially schools in those areas – have seen little change. Given the considerable disparity between the racial demographic composition of high school-aged residents in comparison to the actual racial composition of high schools, it is clear that legacies of segregation appear to continue to affect public-private school choice in certain areas – most evidently, Lee County and the Summerton area of Clarendon County.

The precise reasons for this are unknown. Multiple factors are present when making an important decision such as school choice, and even when racial disparities are blatant, arriving at a conclusion is far from simple. Parents with no racial prejudice in these areas "find themselves with a dubious choice – to send their children to a segregated private academy or to an underfunded black school" (Burton and Reece 2008). When a white parent decides to enroll a child in a private school or former segregation academy, is the parent simply attempting to make what they believe is the best educational decision for their child, or are they making a racially-motivated statement? When a black parent decides

to enroll a child in a public school, are they also making a racially-motivated statement? Are parents on both sides simply following their respective masses, seeking to avoid the potential negative consequences that result from racial isolation? Did either parent consider the alternative, and for which reasons did they rule it out? Of almost 6,500 black high school-aged students living in the study area, only approximately 45 attended private school, and only 14 attended former segregation academies. Do some parents still make these decisions based on racist beliefs? Given the area's history, it is entirely possible, if not likely – but surely not all do. If some do, do the racially-motivated decisions of some tarnish the well-intentioned decisions of others? If so, should they? Does it matter? These are all questions that are based on information, beliefs, and preferences unique to each family in each situation. The intent of this study was not to paint broad strokes, labeling any group as racists or bigots – but to examine details from the past in order to determine how events, both positive and negative, from an area's history continue to affect the present day. Further and more comprehensive inquiry into these specific questions is essential for a more thorough understanding of the situation.

ii. Which demographic factors most affect public-private school choice in these areas today?

It is also unknown, in addition to race, which demographic factors most affect public-private school choice. Clearly, in some areas, race seems to be a primary factor. However, socioeconomic and geographic factors must also play a role. The study area as a whole, and Clarendon and Lee Counties in particular, can be viewed as economically-depressed areas. This by no means is intended to imply that all residents are economically disadvantaged – all tiers of social class are represented, as with most large areas – however,

the reality is that each county in the study area is below the average median household income for both the state of South Carolina and the United States as a whole. The simple answer would seem to be that affluent students attend private school, while less fortunate ones attend public school – but that would require a distinct division to be present among not only class, but race. Certainly there are upper-class, middle-class, and lower-class residents of both black and white races within the study area. The presence of two predominantly-black private schools, albeit with small enrollments, show that there is at least some demand in the black community for private school. Does class transcend race when choosing schools, or does race transcend class? Or, is this distinct division between class and race present, explaining why the demographic compositions of certain schools are so polarized? These are also questions that deserve more exhaustive inquiry.

iii. To what degree do the demographic characteristics of public and private schools in the study area reflect that of their surrounding communities?

While the first two questions to be addressed in this study have only seemed to produce more questions, one solid conclusion is that in certain areas, the racial demographic characteristics of some public and most private schools in multiple cases do not reflect that of their surrounding communities. The Summerton area of Clarendon County, Lee County, and parts of Sumter County are areas where this disparity is most drastic.

The specific reasons for this may not be known, but the comparison of the racial composition of each public high school to that of the geographic area from which it draws its students has shown that these two statistics often do not loosely mirror each other. In areas with small populations, the tendency is for the two measures to differ quite

drastically. In more populated areas, the racial demographic makeup of the public high school may be roughly indicative of the surrounding community, but in these cases, the larger population allows for these percentages to appear less drastic, while larger numbers of students exercise alternative choice. In no geographic area is there a black or white racial majority in excess of 90%, so it is blatantly obvious that most area private schools do not at all reflect the racial demographic characteristics of their surrounding communities.

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APPENDIX A

MAPS

Figure 1. Study Area Census Tracts, 2010